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# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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### Monthly Summary.

**DOMESTIC.**—Our Parliamentary Record contains a full report of the discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 26th of February last upon the presentation, by Mr. Cave, of certain resolutions relating to the suppression of the slave-trade. It only served to shew the extent of the traffic, the shameless conduct of the Spanish Government, and the weakness of the policy of our own in dealing with the evil.

On the 22nd March the subject of the correspondence, between the American and the British Governments, relating to the fugitive slave Anderson, again arose upon the motion of Mr. Gregory for the papers relating to the case. Lord John Russell did not object to their production.

The *Birmingham Ladies' Negros' Friend Society* held an interesting meeting on February 15, a report of which will be found in another column.

**AFRICA.**—The intelligence from the African coast this month is extremely meagre. The chief subject of interest is the war which has broken out between the English and the Mandingoes. On the 21st of February a British force proceeded up the Gambia to the town of Saba, and attacked it. The place was taken, after a fierce resistance, resulting in the loss of 200 natives killed and 300 wounded, and several casualties on the British side. The cause of the outbreak of hostilities is not mentioned.

Through the interference and intercession

of the Rev. H. Townsend, of **ABBEOKUTA**, of Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, and other friends of the slave in England, the chief, Ogubonna, at Abbeokuta, has liberated his home-born slave, Joseph Ogudalena, in consideration of the sum of ten pounds as compensation-money. The fact is chiefly interesting, as illustrating the influence of European intercession, the chief having, for a long time, refused to set the lad at liberty, although the compensation-money had been paid over to him.

**CANADA.**—We alluded in our last Summary to the fact of the discharge of the fugitive slave John Anderson, by the judge of the Canadian Court of Common Pleas. The particulars were not then before us. Our files have since come to hand, and we learn that on Saturday, the 16th of February, Anderson was brought up before the Court, the bench being occupied by Chief Justice Draper, Mr. Justice Richards, and Mr. Justice Hagarty. Anderson was accommodated with a seat inside of the semicircle devoted to the use of the Queen's counsel, immediately in front of the judges, and listened anxiously to all that passed. The Chief Justice addressed the Court, amidst profound silence, and, after a long charge, declared it to be his opinion that Anderson must be discharged, because the return to the writ shewed no sufficient ground for the prisoner's detention. This decision was concurred in by the other two judges, and Anderson was at once liberated.

The specific points to which exception was taken were the following:

That the warrant of commitment was not

issued in conformity with the statute, because :

1st. It did not contain a charge of murder, but merely a felonious homicide, whereas the treaty and the statute do not authorize a surrender, and, consequently, not a committal for the purpose of surrender, for any homicide not expressed to be murder.

2d. That it was not expressed to be for the purpose of surrender, but only until the prisoner should be discharged by the course of law, whereas the statute requires both.

3d. That the magistrates had no jurisdiction, unless and until the prisoner had been charged with the crime in the foreign country where it was alleged to have been committed.

The liberation of Anderson had given general satisfaction, and he was at once conveyed away to a place of safety.

FRANCE.—Considerable attention is being given in France, by those who are interested in the welfare of the colonies, to the subject of cotton cultivation. A very ably written periodical, entitled *Annales de l'Agriculture des Colonies et des Régions Tropicales*, published by J. Louvier, 25 Quai des Grands Augustins, and edited by M. Paul Madinier, three numbers of which have been recently sent to us, containing some very interesting articles upon cotton supply, and upon the movement now being made in England to augment it. The Act of Emancipation is referred to as the cause of the "ruin of the British West-India Colonies," and the strange reason is given for the abolition of Slavery, namely, that it was passed expressly to benefit Mauritius and our East-India possessions.

GERMANY.—A considerable emigration to Brazil from various parts of Germany has been going on for some years. If, however, the statements published in the *Preussische Volksblatt* and other Prussian newspapers are correct, the authorities in Brazil do not afford the slightest protection to these emigrants, but leave them in the hands of cruel and designing persons, who reduce them to a state bordering on actual Slavery. It is related that a cigar manufacturer at Rio de Janeiro, having succeeded in kidnapping some dozen children of these emigrants, keeps them shut up in a large house, where he forces them to make 500 cigars per day each; and in the evening administers to those who have not performed this task as many lashes as there are cigars wanting to the above total. The cries of anguish of the poor tortured creatures are heard every evening by the neighbours. The authorities are well aware of this ruffian's barbarities, the Brazilian journals themselves having published the fact, and yet the police does not interfere.

RUSSIA.—On the 25th of February the Council of the Empire, held on the question

of the emancipation of the serfs, closed its sittings. It was decided that the serfs should receive their personal liberty, and that all the relations between them and their proprietors should cease at once; that the peasants on each property shall receive the house they inhabit and the kitchen-garden attached to it; that there shall be allotted them, at a price fixed by the Government, the fourth of the quantity of ground which was fixed in the plan elaborated by the commissions; that is, from one to two hectares, according to the provinces. This allocation is obligatory; the other territorial arrangements are optional. The imperial manifesto which will publish these decisions was already printed at St. Petersburg, but on account of the Russian Carnival, its publication was to take place during Lent, at a time of meditation and sobriety for the Russian people, the opportuneness of which for the proclamation of emancipation there is no need to point out.

UNITED STATES.—Since our last Summary the two Presidents have delivered their inaugural messages. For the present we will merely advert to the substance of each. Mr. Jefferson Davis, President of the "Confederated States," justifies the rebellion, and declares that it will be maintained by force, if necessary, against the entire strength of the Federal Government. President Lincoln, on the other hand, denies emphatically the right of secession, alleging that the "Union is perpetual." He maintains it to be the duty of the several States to obey the Fugitive Slave Law, as an act of the Federal Government, and expresses his determination to collect the revenue, but not to commit any act which can be construed into one of hostility. As might be expected, all the compromise measures suggested in Congress have been rejected, and the final issue of the discussion will now depend upon the merest accident. The Federal Government have determined to evacuate Fort Sumter, its defence being certain to involve a desperate civil war, and an enormous expenditure. That the secession movement is the result of a deeply-organized plan appears evident from the dispersion of the United-States navy, the accumulation of war material in the forts of the seceded States, and the small quantity available for the use of the Federal Government. The news which will arrive between this time and next month may be decisive. Just now the two parties appear to be merely watching each other.

Mr. Charles Sumner had taken the opportunity afforded by the presentation of a compromise petition from Massachusetts, by Mr. Crittenden, to avow, in a brief address to the Senate, his earnest and unyielding hostility to the scheme of concession proposed by that gentleman, and to every other pro-

position of new guarantees to slavery. The distinguished senator had been nominated Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Unionist cause was gaining strength in the Border States. Arkansas had followed the example of Tennessee, and declared against a Convention. In the city of Nebraska an attempt to hoist the Palmetto colours on Fort Kearney had been repelled, the flag was ignominiously torn down and the stars and stripes hoisted in their place. On the other hand the seceding States were making the most active preparations for war.

P.S. The Peace Conference at Washington had adjourned *sine die*, after adopting a plan of adjustment which did not appear to find favour. The Senate had been placed in possession of the correspondence between the United States and Great Britain on the subject of the fugitive slave Anderson.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files contain very little intelligence worth recording.

The recent ministerial changes in JAMAICA had excited much party feeling, and rumours were current of the removal of Governor Darling, and of his being replaced by Governor Hincks, now at Barbados. The expediency of immigration, under the New Act, was being extensively discussed, and a general impression prevailed that no large number of foreign labourers would ever be applied for under the Act of 1858, so long as two-thirds of the cost of their introduction would be made to fall upon the planters. As, however, immigration is insisted upon as absolutely necessary to meet the agricultural wants of the island, a new Immigration Bill had been introduced into the Assembly, materially modifying the Act of 1858, and providing for the expense of all immigration under it, by a sale of export duties upon produce. The Act had been unsuccessfully opposed by the Hon. Mr. Hosack, who alleged the injustice of making those planters pay export-tax who do not employ the immigrant labour, and of subjecting the crops of the peasantry to a similar tax for the introduction of labourers whose services they do not require. The Government proposes introducing 10,000 immigrants in four years, pledging the revenue of the country for a portion of the amount to be expended: on their side, the planters are to pay "a fair amount" of the cost.

On the 23d of February, Prince Arthur had landed at Barbados, and been received with the honours usually paid to royalty, old or young. He is described as "a modest little boy, in a blue round jacket and white trowsers, with his cap in his hand, bowing to the ladies, and exposing a head of yellow hair and a rather serious countenance."

TOBAGO. — A number of the coloured

people, proprietors of estates and others, have formed an Association calling itself *The Tobago Industrial Society*, the object of which is "to promote the prosperity of the island and the advancement of the African race." The President and Treasurer is Mr. James Hackett, and the Honorary Secretaries are Messrs. R. B. Phipps and R. W. M'Eachnie.

The BRITISH-GUIANA papers dwell upon the conduct of the Coolie immigrants in a manner which leads to the most painful revelations. The manners and customs of these people, utterly at variance with those of civilized life, cause a great deal of uneasiness to their employers, and sometimes tend to endanger the public peace. Their most horrible practice is that of committing suicide, with the hope of returning to their native country. It is certainly one which calls for the active interposition of the friends of humanity, as well as an investigation into the probable causes of such an act. This tendency to suicide is alleged not to be the result of cruel treatment, but of mania, probably arising from the malady commonly known as "home-sickness."

## PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Tuesday, 26th February.)

#### SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

MR. BUXTON asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he was aware that the Slave-trade Papers for each year only contained those up to March in the year preceding, and whether in future all the documents that had come to hand up to the date of publication might not be included.

LORD J. RUSSELL, who was all but inaudible in the gallery, was understood to say that he hoped, within a fortnight or three weeks, to lay upon the table those papers up to September last.

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE.

MR. CAVE said, that in bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice, he feared some might think he was raising a question which belonged rather to the sentimentalist than to the legislator. Yet he felt that the subject was one of Imperial as well as colonial importance, and one in which very considerable interest was taken out of doors. He was justified in his present course by the publication of various documents since last session, when he had put a question to the noble lord at the head of the Foreign-office, on this matter. The first he should refer to was the noble lord's (J. Russell) circular respecting the slave-trade; the next was the reply of the President of the United States; and he must say that, although he agreed in its sentiments, he could not approve the arrogant tone in which it was couched, and which the noble lord's circular did not warrant. The other documents were the correspondence respecting the slave-trade and the convention with



France for the introduction of Coolies into her colonies. The first resolution which he intended to propose was, unhappily, too capable of proof. The noble lord said in his circular that during the last two years the slave-trade had increased in Cuba. Mr. Crawford, our consul at Havana, stated that in 1858 there were 17,000 slaves imported into Cuba; in 1859 the number was 30,000; and in 1860 could not be less than 40,000 or 50,000, besides Chinese. Mr. Crawford estimated the last crop of sugar at 450,000 tons, but recent advices state that it would exceed half-a-million tons. Two motions were made upon this subject by the hon. member for Gateshead in 1850-58. Upon the first occasion, Brazil was the chief offender, while Cuba was comparatively innocent; but in 1858 the Act of 1846 had begun to operate, and Brazil had ceased to import slaves, while Cuba was actively engaged in that traffic. It might be asked whether the squadron had had the effect of putting down the Brazilian slave-trade, and no doubt to some extent it had. In 1845 an Act was passed giving more stringent powers to our cruisers, and the *Cormorant* having cut out a slaver from under the guns of a Brazilian fort, was fired upon, whereupon she blew up the fort. At the same time, an impression began to prevail in Brazil that the slave population was sufficiently numerous; and there was also a hostile feeling towards the Portuguese slave-traders, which induced the Government to repress the traffic. He did not believe Brazil had any great horror of Slavery, for *emancipados* were entitled to their liberty, having been set free by British cruisers, who, notwithstanding their apprenticeship had expired, were kept in Slavery. In Cuba every one was interested in the importation of negroes, and Mr. Crawford stated that a negro who cost less than twenty dollars on the coast of Africa was worth 1000 dollars in Cuba. The squadron no doubt did something towards repressing the slave-trade by enhancing the cost, but the demand was always met by an adequate supply. Perhaps the same means that were so successful with Brazil might succeed with Cuba, and so seemed to think the President of the United States. The noble lord, however, proposed a plan of joint cruising on the coast of Africa and in the West Indies; but with that scheme the President flatly refused to have any thing to do. He (Mr. Cave) thought the proposal a reasonable one; but although the efforts of a squadron upon the coast of Africa might be not without success, it was impossible for a squadron of moderate extent to watch completely so extensive a line of coast. The suggestion of stationing a portion of the squadron in the West Indies was most reasonable. It might be said it had been tried, and had been withdrawn through the remonstrances of the Americans. That had arisen through our cruisers being led to overhaul too indiscriminately all vessels they met. But vessels proceeding from Africa to Cuba must pass through two narrow channels, where early in the morning there was a dead calm. Naval officers stated it was quite possible to distinguish a slaver by going to leeward, when the horrible effluvia peculiar to such vessels was easily perceptible. Thus a few quick steamers north and south of

Jamaica, lying under the land during the night, and running out early in the morning, would be able to inspect all vessels lying becalmed. Another plan that had been indicated by the noble lord was the civilization of Africa. He (Mr. Cave) did not undervalue the efforts that had been made upon that coast; but the slave-trade had been carried on by the most civilized and Christian nations, and although a legitimate trade in palm-oil had sprung up, and might possibly extend to cotton, generations must pass away before any permanent results could be obtained. We could not be sure that the produce obtained from that country at present was the result of free labour, for Captain Forbes had stated that slaves were sold in Liberia as openly as in the United States. That officer had made two visits to the Court of Dahomey, to induce the king to put an end to the traffic in slaves; but could not succeed in persuading that potentate that it would be more profitable to export palm-oil than slaves. The noble lord had also proposed a system of registration and inspection of slaves in Cuba; to which the President of the United States replied that he could not think of asking Spain to pass such a law; and even if he could, he did not believe that such a law would be effectual. That opinion was justified by experience, for, in 1854, Lord Clarendon announced in the House of Lords that the Queen of Spain had given authority to establish a system of registration and inspection of slaves, and decreed that all slaves sold after that date should *ipso facto* be free. That law was observed just as many other laws in Spain had been observed. The next plan of the noble lord was to substitute free-labour for slave-labour. He (Mr. Cave) concurred in the remedy, but disagreed as to the quarter in which it should be applied. He had objected to the convention with France of last year, because he believed that when once the immigrants were beyond the protection of our flag they were entirely at the mercy of their employers, and recent intelligence had confirmed him in that view. In consequence of the bad name Bourbon had obtained, Coolies for that island were now procured from Calcutta; but for the Mauritius, where they were received under the sanction of the British Government, and more liberally treated, the Coolies would still come from Madras. It was known, besides, that there was no real freedom in the colonies of France. Some time since an anonymous letter appeared in *The Times*, describing the state of things in Cayenne. That letter had never been contradicted. It stated that the employers of the labourers scarcely fed them, beat them, and treated them like animals. If there were such objections to immigration to the colonies of France, how much greater were the objections to immigration to those countries in which Slavery existed in its most atrocious form? Yet this was the plan of the noble lord, who proposed immigration into Cuba as a means of checking Slavery. It seemed to him derogatory to this Government to propose such a plan to Spain, that had broken every treaty on the subject of Slavery. Spain had received a compensation for abolishing Slavery, and had used the money as capital for increasing it. She had broken her



treaty of 1835, and set aside her own laws of 1854. Yet the noble lord asked her whether labour from China would not serve her turn as well. He could not know how Chinese immigrants were treated in Cuba, or he would not wish to promote the system. It was stated by Mr. Russell, an American, who visited Cuba in 1855, that the condition of the Chinese there was no better than that of slaves. Numbers of them committed suicide, and the mortality among them was greater than among the negroes. Mr. Dana, the author of *Two Years before the Mast*, who visited Cuba in 1859, also described the tendency of the Chinese Coolies to commit suicide: the prevailing impression among them was that at the end of their term of service they would be brought in debt to their employers, and kept to labour on account of that debt. The planters of the West Indies had had to encounter great difficulties in obtaining a supply of immigrant labour, though the system was generally approved by the missionaries and by the Colonial-office. The planters were accused of endeavouring to create an improper competition with negro labour. After abolishing Slavery in our colonies, the next stroke against the system should have been made by giving those colonies every facility of competing successfully with the countries where Slavery prevailed. Immigration was now encouraged, but still they did not take a comprehensive view of the question. The Emperor of the French took every possible means of supplying the colonies of France with labour. Spain risked a war with England to obtain it. But here immigration was still regarded as only a planter's question. Sugar could not be grown without a sufficient supply of free-labour; but, while the planters were saddled with two-thirds of the cost of immigration, it must be confined within the narrowest limits. Under the existing laws immigration must come to an end, because no individual planter could find capital to carry it on. There could be no better employment of the revenue of a colony than in bringing fresh hands into it; and even the mother country might find it a matter of economy, instead of spending annually large sums in obstructing the slave-trade, to encourage, by loans or guarantees, immigration into the colonies, and so put an end to that traffic for ever. He would not assert that free labour was absolutely cheaper than slave labour; but practically it was so, because the employer of free labour took less profit than the slaveowner. For that reason Barbadoes was able to hold its own against Cuba. England must now pursue one of two courses—either strike at the root of the slave-trade, by cutting off its commercial profits; or withdraw her squadron, let her colonies go to ruin, and continue to be, as she now was, the greatest consumer of slave produce in the world. The hon. member concluded by moving—

"1. That the means hitherto employed by this country for the suppression of the African slave-trade have failed to accomplish that object.

"2. That this failure has mainly arisen from our having endeavoured, almost exclusively, to prevent the supply of slaves, instead of to check the demand for them.

"3. That the true remedy is not to be found

in countenancing immigration into those countries where Slavery exists, but in augmenting the working population at those in which Slavery has been abolished.

"4. That, therefore, while repressive measures should be continued, and even rendered more effective, every possible encouragement and assistance should be given to the introduction of free immigrants, and especially of settlers from China, into the British West-Indian colonies."

Lord J. RUSSELL.—The hon. gentleman has made a very interesting and temperate speech. It is worth the while of the House frequently to consider this subject, and if any member will point out means by which the slave-trade can be effectually suppressed, our time will not be lost in considering such remedies. We have, happily, got rid, and we ought to be thankful to God that we have got rid, of Slavery in our own possessions. Unfortunately, I can remember the time when Mr. Canning came to this House and made some twelve or thirteen proposals of the Government, not for the abolition, but for the mitigation of Slavery in our West-Indian colonies, with a view to its final extinction. Among those were some of a most humane character; but, some months afterwards, Mr. Canning came down again, and said that his propositions had not been favourably received in the West Indies, and that there was one particularly to which the West-Indian colonists objected, holding that its adoption would be fatal to their property and to the continuance of the labour upon which their incomes depended. This proposition was, that the flogging of women should be abolished. Happily, we have since gone far beyond that. We have not only witnessed plans for the mitigation of Slavery and for the apprenticing of negroes, but have seen that noble scheme for the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, which was introduced into this House by Lord Derby, carried into effect. At the time we were adopting plans for the abolition of Slavery, we made endeavours by treaties to abolish the slave-trade carried on by other nations. The hon. gentleman says we have been promoting Slavery in other countries. That our efforts, unhappily, have not been successful, to the extent of totally suppressing Slavery or the slave-trade, I admit; but all have been made in that direction, and have interfered with and obstructed the slave-trade. This consideration, however, is to be borne in mind, that while the whole nation with willingness, I may say enthusiasm, adopted the plans for the suppression of the English slave-trade and afterwards of English Slavery, in other countries no such moral public opinion exists against their slave-trade or Slavery upon which we can count as an efficient support to the diplomacy of this country, or to the engagements into which those countries may enter for the abolition of Slavery. We have done much for the suppression of the slave-trade with Brazil, and the accounts state that there has been none carried on with that country for the last two years. There is a very great trade in slaves carried on between the coast of Africa and Cuba, and large numbers have been introduced into that island. Some say that 500,000, others that 600,000 tons of sugar annually are grown and manufactured in Cuba,

almost entirely by slave labour. This is a melancholy fact. We will endeavour to ascertain why this trade continues. In the first place, we find that every person in Cuba who has official cognizance of this importation of slaves, receives, or is able to receive, very large bribes. The sum given to procure connivance is to many persons of small salaries an irresistible temptation, especially as those above them receive still larger bribes, instead of assisting in the prevention of the traffic. I believe the present Governor of Cuba is sincere in his declaration that he wishes to suppress the slave-trade. No doubt he has of late dismissed from their employment several persons who had been convicted of carrying it on; but the profit is so enormous, the facilities are so great, that cargoes of slaves are introduced into the island notwithstanding. And what, according to our treaties, would be the remedy for this state of things? Vessels sailing under the Spanish flag and introducing slaves might be captured and sent before the Mixed Commission and condemned, but there again we meet with an effectual obstruction to our efforts. The hon. member says, if cruisers were placed off Jamaica they might intercept these vessels going to Cuba. Our commanders have several times had efficient squadrons near Cuba, and have used every endeavour to check the slave-trade. But we are met with another obstacle. These slavers carry the American flag, and many of them are saved in that way. I have read over and over again in the American newspapers that there is a large Association, with considerable capital, at Havana, which has relations with New York and other ports on the coast of America. The agents purchase vessels in New York and elsewhere, and these are sent sometimes to Havana, and sometimes directly to the coast of Africa. They arrive off the coast, and perhaps are for weeks unable to embark their human cargo, but opportunities are ultimately found. The hon. gentleman truly says, one squadron, however active, cannot prevent the embarkation of slaves along the whole coast. The ships are brought to Cuba; they anchor in some of the small creeks or harbours, and the slaves are landed and dispersed among the plantations. All this time our cruisers are unable to touch them, because they are covered by the American flag. When we remonstrated on this subject, the American Government stated that the right of search in time of peace cannot by international law be allowed, and they claimed immunity for their ships, however engaged, from any search by our cruisers. No doubt this flag has covered a vast importation of slaves. If the Spanish flag had been shewn, our cruisers would at once have seized the vessels; but as they bore American colours, it was impossible to do so. But I met them, I think, with great fairness. I said, "It may be that the sensitiveness you shew with regard to the search of your ships is justifiable; it may be that your national pride would never allow an English officer to come on board and search vessels *bonâ fide* in possession of ship's papers belonging to the United States; but, if that be so, do not depart from your own treaties, and your own declarations against the slave-trade. Employ cruisers of your own. If you

will not allow British cruisers to put down the slave-trade, put it down yourselves, and take all the credit and glory which will attach to the successful extinction of the slave-trade. Let us not touch a single one of your ships. But do it effectually; do it for the sake of your own character—for the sake of that great republic which I hope may still remain the United States of America." The President of the United States directed the Secretary of State to tell me that the American Government had heard enough of these remonstrances on the part of the British Government, and hoped they would not be continued. The hon. gentleman has not seen my answer. My reply was, that the American Government might state what they pleased, but that no declaration or diplomatic remonstrances of others would prevent the British Secretary of State from remonstrating, or from declaring that it was a blot on the United States that they did not effectually suppress the slave-trade. More than that, I stated that whenever occasion arose I would repeat the remonstrances against which the American President had protested. The state of things, however, is one for which I think neither the hon. member, nor any member of this House will easily find a remedy. The Spanish Government, while they take some steps which might be commended, while they arm some cruisers to check the slave-trade, do allow their officials—and more especially the planters in the Isle of Cuba—to derive enormous profits, as much as 70, 80, and 100 per cent., from this horrible traffic; and this by the protection given by the American flag to the vessels which carry on the trade. There was a proposal many years ago which I should be glad to see adopted, but I am afraid neither the United States, nor perhaps France or Spain, would agree to it. It proceeded from a Sovereign who was altogether disinterested in the matter—the Emperor Alexander of Russia—who, seeing the jealousies of maritime nations, proposed that there should be a joint squadron of ships of various countries empowered by all to search for slavers, but bearing only one flag, and carrying the prizes before a Court empowered to condemn them. That seemed to me a very reasonable proposition; but, despairing of being able to get such a suggestion accepted in its integrity, I proposed that the cruisers of various nations should sail together. But the American Government, I am sorry to say, refused that proposition. I now come to the plan of the hon. gentleman against the introduction of Chinese Coolies into Cuba. To my mind, it is recommended by this advantage—that in Cuba, with such fertility of soil, the demand for labour must be very great. The way in which Africans are obtained by the slave-traders, and the mode in which they are carried across the sea, have been the subject of eloquent denunciation in this House from the time of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt to the present day. If Chinese Coolies, however, were sent to these islands, you would be able to establish regulations, in concert with the Chinese Government, by which you could insure that the emigration should be entirely voluntary, and that the Chinese labour-market should be relieved of persons willing to emigrate, who, instead of being on the borders of famine in their own



country, would obtain good wages and plentiful subsistence. You would have it in your power to regulate the conditions of emigration, and of the passage; but I do not believe you would have any power over the manner in which the authorities and owners of property in Cuba would treat them on their arrival. But the check which the hon. gentleman has mentioned with regard to the Isle of Bourbon would be applicable in this case also. When the Coolies from Madras found they were well treated in the Mauritius, and ill-treated in the Isle of Bourbon, they ceased to join in the voluntary emigration to the latter. In the same way, if it were found that the Coolies either did not return, or reported unfavourably of their treatment in Cuba, there would be the same indisposition on their part to go to Cuba as was exhibited by Indians to go to Bourbon, and the Spaniards would be obliged to treat them well, or that supply of labour would fall off altogether. The hon. gentleman has alluded to the subject of emigration into our own colonies. I quite agree that from the time Slavery was abolished in them, it should have been the policy of this country to favour the immigration of free labourers to those colonies. I remember that, being Secretary of State for the Colonies, I endeavoured to establish a scheme of emigration from India to the Mauritius. I did not succeed in that at first, because this House was averse to any such suggestion, believing that we should be only establishing a new kind of Slavery in the Mauritius. I contended that it would be a very great advantage to the suffering labourers in India, many of whom were described as hardly having means sufficient to keep body and soul together, and that their condition would be improved by earning good wages in the Mauritius, and being enabled after a time to return to India. I am bound to say that the answer received from this House did not prevent the Colonial Minister from going on with the plan, which we now know has been attended with the greatest success.

More than 180,000 Indians have been introduced into the Mauritius. Numbers of them have returned to India; numbers, I am happy to say, have settled in the Mauritius; and the good wages they have enjoyed, while allowing considerable benefit to the owners of property in the country, have been the means of raising these labourers in the scale of social life, while enabling them to gain an honest livelihood. Therefore, having taken an early part in promoting immigration into the Mauritius, I certainly should be most happy to see immigration to our West-India Islands. But then comes the question—how is that to be done? I think it should be left to the Colonial Secretary of State to form, or to agree to, such plans as may be proposed to him from time to time, and as may seem calculated to carry out that object. This, however, I may say, that Her Majesty's Government are aware of the advantages that may be obtained by immigration into the West Indies; and we are also of opinion that regulations may be framed by which the abuses that may have prevailed can in future be warded off. Therefore, I am not, on the principle of immigration, opposed to the hon. gentleman, but I do not think that this immigration would be sufficient. There would be still the bad example of Cuba, and therefore I think that

the other measures which we have adopted must not be given up. I must confess, too, that I do not see the peculiar advantage of the hon. gentleman's resolutions. The first states that "the means hitherto employed by this country for the suppression of the slave-trade have failed to accomplish that object." No doubt they have not totally abolished the slave-trade; but the means referred to in the resolution have thrown obstacles in the way of the slave-trade. Therefore I cannot agree in that part of the resolutions which seems to imply that our means have not tended towards the end for which they were devised. The latter part of the third resolution points to a very useful measure: but the former seems to exclude other remedies, which have, in my judgment, been very conducive to the suppression of the slave-trade. With these opinions, while concurring in the greater part of the hon. gentleman's observations, and entirely approving the object which he has in view, I beg to move the previous question.

Mr. Buxton shared his hon. friend's views regarding the importance of immigration into the British West Indies. He had always desired to see the largest influx of Chinese and Coolies into that part of the British dominions. At one time he thought inquiry was needed into the mode of conducting that immigration; but he had satisfied himself that it was humanely carried on, and was highly beneficial both to the islands and the immigrants themselves. His hon. friend's first resolution could not be denied. It was too true, that, after all England's sacrifices and exertions, the Atlantic was once again covered with slave-ships. It would be wrong, however, to imagine that England's strenuous and generous efforts had been in vain. The slave-trade was not suppressed, but it was enormously diminished. Within the memory of many the slave-trade had been carried on by the United States, by Central America, by Brazil, by Portugal, by Spain, by Turkey, by France, by England herself. At the present moment, except Spain, not one of those countries but had renounced this trade, and this result had been mainly due to England's endeavours and example. The single fact that the slave-trade had been annihilated along the whole coast of both the Americas was by itself a splendid triumph of British philanthropy. At the present moment, however, the slave-trade was again rearing its head. They might hope that the French immigration of negroes, which had every one of the cruel characteristics of the slave-trade, was or soon would be at an end; but the Cuban slave-trade had broken out in the last two years with greater violence. The conduct of Spain in this matter had been base and inhuman. That might be thought strong language, but it was hardly stronger than that used by Lord Malmesbury, who, in June, 1858, told the Spanish Government to their face that "Her Majesty's Government has a right to require that a term shall be put to the flagrant abuse by the Spanish authorities of the engagements which Spain has contracted with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade." In fact, Spain had sunk so low in the scale of nations, so debased were the minds of her statesmen, that they were content to let theirs be the single country stained with the infamy of that crime. The Government of



almost entirely by slave labour. This is a melancholy fact. We will endeavour to ascertain why this trade continues. In the first place, we find that every person in Cuba who has official cognizance of this importation of slaves, receives, or is able to receive, very large bribes. The sum given to procure connivance is to many persons of small salaries an irresistible temptation, especially as those above them receive still larger bribes, instead of assisting in the prevention of the traffic. I believe the present Governor of Cuba is sincere in his declaration that he wishes to suppress the slave-trade. No doubt he has of late dismissed from their employment several persons who had been convicted of carrying it on; but the profit is so enormous, the facilities are so great, that cargoes of slaves are introduced into the island notwithstanding. And what, according to our treaties, would be the remedy for this state of things? Vessels sailing under the Spanish flag and introducing slaves might be captured and sent before the Mixed Commission and condemned, but there again we meet with an effectual obstruction to our efforts. The hon. member says, if cruisers were placed off Jamaica they might intercept these vessels going to Cuba. Our commanders have several times had efficient squadrons near Cuba, and have used every endeavour to check the slave-trade. But we are met with another obstacle. These slavers carry the American flag, and many of them are saved in that way. I have read over and over again in the American newspapers that there is a large Association, with considerable capital, at Havana, which has relations with New York and other ports on the coast of America. The agents purchase vessels in New York and elsewhere, and these are sent sometimes to Havana, and sometimes directly to the coast of Africa. They arrive off the coast, and perhaps are for weeks unable to embark their human cargo, but opportunities are ultimately found. The hon. gentleman truly says, one squadron, however active, cannot prevent the embarkation of slaves along the whole coast. The ships are brought to Cuba; they anchor in some of the small creeks or harbours, and the slaves are landed and dispersed among the plantations. All this time our cruisers are unable to touch them, because they are covered by the American flag. When we remonstrated on this subject, the American Government stated that the right of search in time of peace cannot by international law be allowed, and they claimed immunity for their ships, however engaged, from any search by our cruisers. No doubt this flag has covered a vast importation of slaves. If the Spanish flag had been shewn, our cruisers would at once have seized the vessels; but as they bore American colours, it was impossible to do so. But I met them, I think, with great fairness. I said, "It may be that the sensitiveness you shew with regard to the search of your ships is justifiable; it may be that your national pride would never allow an English officer to come on board and search vessels *bonâ fide* in possession of ship's papers belonging to the United States; but, if that be so, do not depart from your own treaties, and your own declarations against the slave-trade. Employ cruisers of your own. If you

will not allow British cruisers to put down the slave-trade, put it down yourselves, and take all the credit and glory which will attach to the successful extinction of the slave-trade. Let us not touch a single one of your ships. But do it effectually; do it for the sake of your own character—for the sake of that great republic which I hope may still remain the United States of America." The President of the United States directed the Secretary of State to tell me that the American Government had heard enough of these remonstrances on the part of the British Government, and hoped they would not be continued. The hon. gentleman has not seen my answer. My reply was, that the American Government might state what they pleased, but that no declaration or diplomatic remonstrances of others would prevent the British Secretary of State from remonstrating, or from declaring that it was a blot on the United States that they did not effectually suppress the slave-trade. More than that, I stated that whenever occasion arose I would repeat the remonstrances against which the American President had protested. The state of things, however, is one for which I think neither the hon. member, nor any member of this House will easily find a remedy. The Spanish Government, while they take some steps which might be commended, while they arm some cruisers to check the slave-trade, do allow their officials—and more especially the planters in the Isle of Cuba—to derive enormous profits, as much as 70, 80, and 100 per cent., from this horrible traffic; and this by the protection given by the American flag to the vessels which carry on the trade. There was a proposal many years ago which I should be glad to see adopted, but I am afraid neither the United States, nor perhaps France or Spain, would agree to it. It proceeded from a Sovereign who was altogether disinterested in the matter—the Emperor Alexander of Russia—who, seeing the jealousies of maritime nations, proposed that there should be a joint squadron of ships of various countries empowered by all to search for slavers, but bearing only one flag, and carrying the prizes before a Court empowered to condemn them. That seemed to me a very reasonable proposition; but, despairing of being able to get such a suggestion accepted in its integrity, I proposed that the cruisers of various nations should sail together. But the American Government, I am sorry to say, refused that proposition. I now come to the plan of the hon. gentleman against the introduction of Chinese Coolies into Cuba. To my mind, it is recommended by this advantage—that in Cuba, with such fertility of soil, the demand for labour must be very great. The way in which Africans are obtained by the slave-traders, and the mode in which they are carried across the sea, have been the subject of eloquent denunciation in this House from the time of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt to the present day. If Chinese Coolies, however, were sent to these islands, you would be able to establish regulations, in concert with the Chinese Government, by which you could insure that the emigration should be entirely voluntary, and that the Chinese labour-market should be relieved of persons willing to emigrate, who, instead of being on the borders of famine in their own

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the United States inquired not long ago why we did not force Spain to act up to her engagements. And surely there was a strong case for vigorous measures. Spain stooped to accept 400,000*l.* from us as a remuneration for agreeing to abolish the trade. That sum at simple interest would now amount to a million. We had a right, therefore, to compel her to respect her stipulations. But mournful as the state of things was with regard to the Cuban slave-trade, a more distressing prospect was opening before us. One main object of the Southern States in seceding from the Union, had been to revive the trade in slaves with Africa. Their demand for slaves would have no limit. Were this allowed, all hope for Africa would vanish. He hoped that Her Majesty's Government would shew themselves equal to this emergency. The noble lord at the head of Her Majesty's Government had done more than any living man to put down the slave-trade. The noble lord the Minister for Foreign Affairs had always strenuously exerted himself in the same cause. He confidently looked to them on this occasion to adopt a well-considered as well as a vigorous policy, and undoubtedly the country would go heartily along with them in doing whatever was requisite to annihilate the trade in human beings. He presumed the British Government would refuse to recognise the flag of the Southern Confederacy, except upon the stipulation that the African slave-trade should not be revived. At the same time, one could not but feel that such a condition might be evaded, or in time be put aside; and, after long and most anxious study of this question, he had come to the conclusion that to meet this present and prospective slave-trade we must shift our policy. We could not stop the slave-trade by simply cruising at sea, nor by remonstrances and protests. What we must do was to render the African coast inaccessible to the slave-trader. There was nothing novel or theoretical in this proposal. This very thing had actually been done over a vast extent of coast, where formerly the slave-trade was rife. From the Senegal to Accra, including 2000 miles of the coast of Gambia and of Guinea, formerly the very home of the slave-trade, it had been entirely extinguished, owing to the occupation, either in the way of possession or of protectorate, by France at Senegal, by England on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos, and by the Americans in Liberia. The slave-trade was now entirely confined to that far smaller portion of the coast occupied by native chiefs (especially the King of Dahomey), and also to the Portuguese dominions. Now, what he proposed was, that, instead of vainly remonstrating with Spain, we should throw our whole influence upon Portugal. With her we had slave-trade treaties; she derived no profit from the trade; her feeling had always been in our favour regarding it. All that was wanted was that the Government of Portugal, stimulated and aided by us, should adopt stringent measures for its suppression. They could do it if they would, and they had every motive to do so. Let our Government leave Spain alone in her infamous course, and devote themselves to awakening the Government of Portugal to their duty and their interest in this matter. Let us do our best to induce Portugal to send a higher class of officials, with better salaries, and sup-

ported by some naval force, and under stringent orders to execute the laws against slave-traders, and the slave-trade there must cease. But then it would be absolutely requisite for us to place consuls at several points, to keep a close watch over all that went forward. But all this would be in vain unless we sealed up the intervals of coast occupied by the ruffian of Dahomey and other native chiefs. The proposal, then, for which he most earnestly entreated a favourable consideration, was, that we should extend along that portion of the coast the same kind of protectorate that had already produced such beneficial results on the Gold Coast. On the Gold Coast we possessed no territory; but we had a few forts from which our flag waved, and let him read to the House what Lord Grey said as to the result:—

"By the system there pursued, at a very small cost compared to the result, a great amount of immediate good is effected, and the sure foundations are laid for much greater good being accomplished hereafter. Already wars have been completely put an end to. The barbarous punishments formerly in use have ceased, security of life and property has been almost completely established, education and missionary labours are successfully carried on, trade and industry are daily increasing."

Now, he wished for no military occupation whatever. A few civilian officials, guarded by some companies of native soldiers, as at the Gold Coast, was all he asked. They would merely want to occupy a very few stations, at convenient points, just to have the flags of the protecting Powers flying, as a visible sign that the country was under their guardianship. He would not enforce the protectorate by troops on shore; but its practical efficacy would arise—first, from its enabling the crews of men-of-war to land and destroy the barracoons on shore, which, when done by Captain Denman, ruined the slave-traders and broke up the trade; secondly, from its enabling them to seize and execute as pirates those who might attempt to kidnap the people under our guardianship, just as we should do on the Gambia or the Gold Coast. That such a course would put a dead stop to the slave-trade along the protected coast there could be no question. The objections were, he owned, weighty. At the outset arose the question of expense. Our expense ought to be much less than now. Three vessels, backed by the power of destroying the barracoons and other machinery of the trade, and by the power of hanging slave-traders as pirates, would tell more than twenty vessels on the sea with no right of search. The contrast of the two plans was strikingly exhibited by comparing the Gold Coast with that of Dahomey. The former was the greater, yet, being under our protection, it needed not a cruiser to guard it, while the latter had often, he was told, been watched by ten or twelve cruisers. Then, again, it might be thought anomalous to protect people who had not asked for our protection. But, whatever the chiefs might feel, the people would be grateful for the increased security to their persons and their property. And he was willing to base this proceeding on the matter-of-fact principle of giving to our rising commerce that police protection which the native chiefs could not or would not afford.



The main question, however, was whether we should not excite the jealousy of other nations. But we might entirely escape that by offering to any other nation that pleased to unite with us in this protectorate that their flag should wave there along with our own, with the understanding that our efforts were not to be hampered. By this arrangement we should also meet the one remaining objection—namely, that it was not the policy of England to extend her dominions. We should not be extending our dominions. We should not be grasping at new territory; we should not be undertaking to administer new affairs. All we should do would be to establish a police supervision on shore as well as at sea; and he entreated the House to bear in mind the prodigious advantages that would accrue to England, to Africa, to the whole world, if the slave-trade were effectually put down. The experience of those few years during which the slave-trade nearly disappeared, before the United States refused the right of search, demonstrated that if Africa could but have rest from slave wars, a mighty commerce would arise. She had boundless resources in oil, timber, metals, coffee, and cotton. As to the latter article, it had been shewn that infinite quantities could be produced, equal to New Orleans, and at as low a price. The trade from that part of West Africa whence the slave-hunter had been driven, already amounted to little less than 3,000,000*l.* per annum. Only put an end to the slave-trade, only give peace to those fertile regions, and the wealth not only of England, but of the world, would be greatly augmented. Africa would enter into close communion with Europe. Commerce, civilization, Christianity would soon shed their blessings over that hapless quarter of the globe.

Lord A. CHURCHILL concurred in the view taken by the hon. gentleman who last spoke as to the importance of establishing forts or stations along the coast of Africa. The Committee of the House of Lords had adopted the same views, and it was found, on inquiry, that the establishment at Cape Coast Castle was maintained at a cost of not more than 4000*l.* a year. The slave-trade, which extended for 150 miles on either side of the position which that fort occupied, was completely put down after its establishment. There were many other parts of the African coast where the same policy might be carried out. They had been told that a Commission was about to proceed to Dahomey, to endeavour to induce the king to aid in the suppression of the slave-trade; and he believed that the fear of a fort being erected on that part of the coast would have great influence in leading him to come to our terms. But the Committee of the House of Lords had suggested the passing of some Act of Parliament, by which the captains and crews of slave-ships might be effectually punished. That was a suggestion worthy of consideration if it could be carried out without exciting the jealousy of foreign nations; and, in order to obviate that difficulty, other nations might have the power if they wished it to claim their own subjects, with a view to their punishment. The slave-trade was supported on the coast of Africa in a great measure by the desire of the native chiefs to possess European goods. Those chiefs were paid principally in dollars, and these found their way back again

in the purchase of European commodities which they wished to possess. It was plain, therefore, that if the chiefs and the natives generally could be led to engage in legitimate trade, the effect would be gradually to abolish the slave-trade. The exports from this country to Africa in 1859 amounted to 900,000*l.*, and the imports from Africa to this country were 1,500,000*l.*, shewing a balance of 600,000*l.* in favour of this country. This trade was conducted by a very few houses, and was rapidly increasing year by year. The trade in numerous articles, including cotton, was increasing to a most encouraging extent, and no doubt could exist that if the slave-trade was abolished our commerce with Africa would be very great. The only question was, how could that object best be attained? He thought, in the first place, that it would be greatly promoted by bringing into competition with slave labour the free labour of other countries, no matter where those countries were situated. In the United States the cost of slave labour was calculated at a dollar a-day. If the original price of the slave, the depreciation which took place in his value, and the expense of his keep were taken into account, it would be found that his labour cost a dollar a-day; and in Cuba the same result was arrived at. Free coloured labour could be had at a much cheaper rate. In the West Indies it had been said that Coolie labour could be procured at only 10*d.* a-day. He was connected with a Society for promoting the introduction of free coloured labour into the West Indies. In reply to a communication from that Society in November last, the Governor of Jamaica had expressed his willingness to assist their scheme, and had promised to insert a vote for the purpose in the Estimates of the ensuing session. The Colonial-office, however, had refused to sanction the appropriation of any money for the introduction of free coloured labour from China. He hoped the Government would consent to rescind that order. The slave-trade could only be suppressed by the competition of free with slave labour, the erection of forts and appointment of consuls along the coast from which slaves were embarked, and the exemplary punishment of slave-traders whenever they could be laid hold of.

Mr. KINNAIRD concurred generally in the observations of his two hon. friends who had last spoken, but thought they had wandered beyond the resolution. He was surprised to hear the noble lord conclude by moving the previous question. It was singular that the noble lord should have come to such a conclusion, for his speech was really in support of the statements of his hon. friend, and especially of his assertion that the efforts to suppress the slave-trade had failed. It was undoubtedly a great national inconsistency, that we should be endeavouring to suppress the slave-traffic on the one hand, and encouraging it by our large consumption of slave-grown produce on the other. It was worthy of the attention of the Government whether that inconsistency should be perpetuated; and, although an earnest free-trader himself, he could not allow free trade to override every other consideration. He thought the noble lord was wrong in saying that we had no redress against American slavers. He understood, that although the Americans denied, on principle, the right of search, yet that

they would not shield a vessel sailing under the American flag with a cargo of slaves. He hoped the noble lord would not persevere in his motion.

Mr. M'MAHON suggested that the suppression of the slave-trade might be aided by the cultivation of tobacco and sugar in the United Kingdom, as well as by the cultivation of palm-oil in Africa, and cotton in India and Australia. Tobacco was grown in this country from its first introduction in the time of Elizabeth down to the reign of Charles II., and in Ireland down to the first year of the reign of William IV. It was prohibited because it would interfere with the Customs; but the loss to the revenue would be inconsiderable compared with the advantages to be derived from the suppression of the slave-trade. The prohibition of the growth of tobacco in this kingdom was practically a premium to the slave-trader. The cultivation of beetroot for the manufacture of sugar was commenced in France under the reign of Napoleon, and in 1852 about three-fourths of the entire consumption of that country was produced within its own borders. In other parts of the Continent, slave-grown sugar was excluded in a similar way. In Ireland the experiment had been tried, but had been stopped by the ruinous imposition of Excise duties equivalent to the Customs. The foreigner would not have to pay duty until he had sold the produce; but the English or Irish maker would have to pay the moment he had manufactured it. If they adopted free-trade principles, he believed they would do more to suppress the slave-trade than by employing ships of war upon the coast.

Mr. SLANEY trusted that other nations would be induced, by our example, and a sense of their own interests, to substitute the cheaper labour of Coolies for that of slaves. At the same time he concurred in the necessity of doing what we could to prevent the continuation of the horrible trade in slaves.

Mr. C. FORTESCUE was anxious to comment on that part of the speech of the hon. gentleman opposite which related to the colonial department. The only complaint brought against the Colonial-office was, that the expense of Coolie emigration to the West Indies was thrown in an excessive degree on the planters, and that contributions towards the expense were not supplied from the revenues of the colonies. It was a question not easy to decide consistently with justice. The apportionment of the cost of emigration between the planters and the Colonial Government admitted of a great deal of argument, and must be regarded from different points of view, according to the interests of those who considered it. The obvious view upon which the Colonial-office was obliged to act was, that the labourers were introduced into the West Indies for the apparent interest of one class. They were allotted to one description of employers;—they were indentured for fixed periods to the producers of sugar, who acquired for the time a right to their labour. They were introduced without that proportion of women and children which naturally accompanied ordinary emigration, and under the condition that if they pleased they should be transported back to their native country, so as not to add to the permanent population of the colony. These peculiar conditions

led many able men to think that any contribution under such circumstances would be nothing less than a bounty from the public funds for the production of sugar. That view the Colonial-office could not accept. This importation was not left to its natural course. The planter was not permitted to introduce labourers as he pleased, nor could he limit the importation to able field-hands, being obliged to import with them a certain fixed proportion of women, children, and old people. A contribution from the colonial revenues was only a fair compensation for these restrictions. It had also been shewn that the introduction of this immigrant labour had benefited not alone the producer, but the revenue, the merchants, and even the native population with which the immigrants had come into competition. A contribution from the colonial funds, therefore, in aid of this immigration, seemed only reasonable, and successive Secretaries of State had concurred in settling the proportion to be borne by the planters and the colonies respectively. This proportion was, that of the whole cost of immigration to the West-Indian colonies, two-thirds should fall upon the planting interest, either in direct payments by the planters to whom the Coolies were allotted, or as a tax falling on the planters as a class; while the remaining third was to be borne by the general revenue of the colony. The Colonial-office had many opposing views to balance and reconcile. It was in the position of an arbitrator, because in many of our colonies the class that demanded and benefited by immigration was the governing class of the colony, which had the disposal of the colonial revenues. It was, therefore, the duty of the Colonial-office to represent the interests of those who were either not or were imperfectly represented. The hon. member (Mr. Cave) must be aware that the Colonial-office of late years had not had to contend against the views he had advocated to-night, but against those who had opposed the system of free immigration, and who were the old friends of the slaves. He was, therefore, glad to hear his hon. friend (Mr. Buxton), who had an hereditary right to speak on this subject, say that the objections formerly felt to free immigration were now withdrawn, and that it was generally felt that the introduction of Coolie and Chinese immigrants had been a real and decided success. It was satisfactory to know, that of the large number of free immigrants into the Mauritius, so few demanded to be transported back to their native country. The Mauritius enjoyed greater prosperity than it had ever done, and produced three times the quantity of sugar than when Slavery prevailed. Many thousands of free immigrants had been introduced into British Guiana with a like success. Jamaica had been rather behind; but, although late in the field, would no doubt run the race with success. Coolie emigration had been extended to the colony of Natal; and a plan was under consideration for conveying free immigrants to the Australian colony of Queensland. He was less sanguine about the suggestion for extending along the coast of Africa the strange protectorate which we now exercised with very moderate success on the Gold Coast. The separate settlements upon the great trading rivers at Sierra Leone and the Gambia were more advantageous than our pro-



teetorate of the Gold Coast, and it would be better to increase the number of those settlements. Such a teetorate as now existed on the Gold Coast it would not be desirable to establish elsewhere. On the Gold Coast the tribes whom we protected were in the utmost danger from their enemies, the Ashantees, and hence they welcomed our rule. But where the same danger and dread did not exist, the tribes would not so readily accept our rule. This teetorate was not exercised by a few civilians, but was supported by a respectable military force. He was satisfied that the immigration of free labour into our tropical and semi-tropical colonies was of the utmost promise. It was extending rapidly, and the most promising feature was the growth of a free immigration from China. The Chinese were valuable labourers; they were desirous to leave their native country, and were so industrious as to be willing to continue permanently in the exercise of a laborious occupation.

Mr. EWING said that on his estates there were employed 800 labourers, two-thirds of whom were Coolies, Chinamen, &c., and he had no hesitation in saying that if the British West Indies had a sufficient supply of labour, chiefly from China, sugar might be made cheaper there than in any other part of the world. He therefore expressed his obligations for all that had been done by the Colonial-office to favour immigration.

Sir M. FARQUHAR congratulated his hon. friend for the masterly and temperate manner in which he had introduced to the House the subject under discussion. They all knew that the slave-trade was not indeed so flourishing as many years ago, but it was again rearing up its head, in consequence of the detestable traffic which was carried on between Africa and Cuba, and would continue so long as the American flag protected the ships engaged in it and the Spanish Government overlooked the gross and disgraceful conduct of its officials in Cuba. He was of opinion, that if a portion of our cruisers now off the coast of Africa were placed in the Caribbean Sea, a great diminution of the importation of Africans into Cuba would be the result. He acknowledged the importance of favouring immigration into the West Indies, but questioned the policy of encouraging immigration into Cuba; for the system pursued in China to effect this last-named immigration was a system of kidnapping and torture, and when the Chinese arrived in Cuba they were sold in the public market at 400 dollars a-head, and might be said to be absorbed into the slave population. He therefore thought that the most stringent regulations should be adopted in China, to put the Cuban immigration on the same footing as that now carried on under Mr. Austin's scheme with respect to the West Indies. [*The hon. baronet here read an extract, shewing how carefully the wants of the Chinese labourers for the West Indies were attended to, and how cheerfully they quitted China for their destination.*] The same was the case with respect to the Coolies from India; and, as regards the Chinese, Mr. Austin had succeeded in inducing 300 women to accompany the men. This was a question of free labour only; and there was no reason why, upon the vast plains of British Guiana, there should not be, with proper immigration, not only an immense increase in the

growth of sugar, but also that production of cotton which used to exist there, and which would be so valued by the manufacturers of this country. He hoped the noble lord at the head of the Foreign-office would press upon the Government of Spain the necessity of adhering to their treaties, and he might almost say threaten them with a withdrawal of our Minister if they refused. He regretted that the "previous question" had been moved, though the speech of the noble lord was as strong a support to his hon. friend's motion as could have been given.

MR. GREGSON, adverting to the comparison which had been drawn between the Coolies and the Chinese, said that his own experience, and that of others connected with the West Indies, was, that although the Chinese were apt and rapid in their work, for permanent industry the Coolies were much preferable.

LORD PALMERSTON.—I must say the House is much indebted to the hon. member who moved these resolutions, for bringing under their consideration a subject of great interest and importance; and, however much we may differ from him as to the wording of the resolutions, the course of the discussion must have shewn him and the House that there is no difference of opinion between him and the Government as to the object to be attained. There were some expressions, however, used by the hon. member, and re-echoed by the hon. member for Perth, which, if they are allowed to go forth without explanation, might create a misapprehension. The hon. gentleman stated that the English Government had for a long course of time encouraged and promoted Slavery and the slave-trade; but what I believe he meant was, that by consuming slave-grown produce the people of England had indirectly encouraged Slavery and the slave-trade. That is a question which has been frequently discussed in this House; and, upon full deliberation, those who have urged Parliament to prohibit the consumption of slave-grown commodities have not succeeded in convincing Parliament and the country that this was an effectual method of putting down Slavery. I wish it to be understood that the efforts of England for putting down Slavery and the slave-trade have been most exemplary, of long continuance, energetic, and, to a great degree, successful. That is one reason why I object to the wording of the first resolution, because, taken nakedly, it would imply that our efforts have entirely failed. We ourselves set the example of abolishing the slave-trade, and, afterwards, the condition of Slavery. Has that remained a fruitless example? On the contrary, France has followed our example. She abolished first the slave-trade, and then Slavery. Holland has abolished the slave-trade. We have concluded treaties with Spain and Portugal, providing machinery for putting an end to the slave-trade; and we have concluded treaties with the chiefs on the coast of Africa, binding them to co-operate with us in putting an end to it in their dominions. To say, then, that this country has been encouraging the slave-trade and Slavery in other nations is to assert that which is at variance with the most notorious facts, and is a calumny on the British nation. Our efforts, in fact, have been greatly successful. The efforts of the British Government have never ceased since



1815, when, at the great Congress of Vienna, their representatives persuaded all the great Powers to agree to a declaration that the slave-trade was a disgrace to Europe, the desolation of Africa, and ought to be put down. From that time the influence of the British Government has been exerted with every civilized nation to induce them to put down the slave-trade, and they have had great success. In Brazil, which used to import annually 50,000, 60,000, and 70,000 negroes—a number which represents three times the amount of human misery inflicted, because three times that number of negroes were every year torn from their homes and families in order to produce the residuum landed on Brazil—we have succeeded in abolishing the slave-trade; and if we had only accomplished that, it would be a great glory to the British nation. Portugal used to be a most active instrument of the slave-trade. I will not undertake to say, because I know it would not be true, that from the Portuguese colonies in Africa a great extent of slave-trade does not still go on, but it goes on against the will of the Government of Lisbon; and, when representations are made to it, the Government of Lisbon honestly and *bona fide* exercises its authority to prevent the recurrence of these abominations. Time was when the Court of Lisbon encouraged the slave-trade. Now it does all it can to discourage it, and very little is carried on under the Portuguese flag. Holland, which used to carry on a great deal, now carries on no slave-trade. Therefore, the slave-trade is confined exclusively to that centre of abominations the Island of Cuba. The number of slaves imported into Cuba was formerly comparatively small, but I am sorry to say that within the last few years it has greatly increased. And how, or why has it increased? It is because the American Government, from motives for which we ought perhaps to respect it—from a mistaken sense of national honour, has interfered to cover with impunity that prostitution of the American flag which covers the abomination of the slave-trade. When we speak of Spain it is impossible to express too strongly one's indignation at the profligate, shameless, and disgraceful bad faith with which the Spanish nation have acted in reference to the treaties concluded with England on this matter. As far back as 1817 the Spanish Government bound themselves to put an end to the slave-trade, and received 400,000*l.* as compensation to those who might be sufferers by this change of policy. In 1835, after the Government had mainly contributed, by its assistance and protection, to the establishment of a free Constitution in Spain, we asked, as the only acknowledgment of our services, that Spain would conclude with us a treaty, by which machinery should be established by mutual right of search, mixed commissions, and the like, by which the engagement of 1817 might be rendered fully applicable, and an end put to that slave-trade which Spain still carried on, and which she was bound to abolish. We obtained our request. The memory of the services we had rendered her being fresh in the recollection of Spain, she consented to make such a treaty; and if it had been fairly carried out the Spanish slave-trade would have been as much abolished as that of Brazil. It is extraordinary that a nation, which

consists of men, who, taken singly, would blush to do any thing not perfectly honest and straightforward, should, when taken in the aggregate, be guilty of so shameless and abominable a violation of good faith. The conduct of Spain might have given us just cause for war, if we had thought proper to avail ourselves of it. We have repeatedly remonstrated with the Spanish Government in strong language, like that which I have been using. My noble friend has recently spoken to them in the same tone, but I am sorry to say they have hitherto been deaf to a sense of their duty with respect to their national engagement. I trust, however, it is only a remnant of that debased feeling which the arbitrary Government of former days inflicted upon Spain. I hope that those liberal principles and those generous feelings which belong to a popular, representative, and constitutional Government will before long have their sway, and that the people will force their Government to act in a manner more in accordance with national honour and good faith. I regret to say that we have not received from the Government of the United States that assistance which we were entitled to expect from a Government of free men. The Government of the United States have taken engagements as well as the Spanish nation. They are bound by treaty to co-operate with England for the suppression of the slave-trade, by stationing a certain amount of naval force upon the coast of Africa. That engagement has been more or less fulfilled from time to time; but the American Government have prevented British cruisers from meddling with ships sailing under the American flag, except at their risk and peril in the event of the ships being found not only to have the American flag, but to have American papers proving their nationality. It is well known that the mere hoisting of a flag is no proof of nationality. Nationality is proved by papers, which can only be a proof upon their production. Well, a great difficulty arose two or three years ago upon the coast of Cuba. We thought that not only should there be an intercepting force on the coast of Africa, but that it would be useful to station a similar force on the coast of Cuba. Difficulties immediately arose. American citizens engaged in the slave-trade immediately got up a great clamour against our cruisers, asserting that they were intercepting the legitimate commerce of the United States. The United States Government took the matter up, and, owing to the complication of circumstances, the British Government were obliged to withdraw their cruisers from that station. My noble friend made not long ago a proposal to the American Government, which, if they had really been disposed to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave-trade, I think they ought to have accepted. We and the American Government stand upon a different footing in one important respect. By the Act of 1845, a British cruiser taking a vessel engaged in the slave-trade, without papers and without any indication of nationality, is entitled to have it condemned by a British Court of Admiralty. The Americans have not that power by their laws; and therefore when an American cruiser meets a ship even laden with slaves, but without any proof of nationality, she is unable to do any thing, because

if she were to take the slaver into an American port, there is no American law by which a ship not American could be condemned for the crime of engaging in the slave-trade. What happened on the coast of Cuba? When a slaver filled with slaves met an American cruiser she threw her papers overboard, destroyed all proof of her nationality, and so baffled the enemy. When she met a British cruiser she became an American ship, produced her papers, and, though filled with slaves, defied our people to touch her. My noble friend proposed to the American Government that British and American cruisers should sail in couples, so that when they met a slaver, if she had destroyed the proofs of her nationality, the British cruiser might take her; while, on the other hand, if she shewed American papers and colours, she might be seized by the American cruiser. Our proposal was declined, and as far as that method of putting down the slave-trade in Cuba is concerned, we have been defeated. It is always satisfactory when this House takes up this great question, and, by such an expression of opinion as we have heard to-night, fortifies Her Majesty's Government in the representations which they feel it their duty to make to foreign Governments. For my own part, I cannot too strongly express my concurrence in the opinion stated by my hon. friend the member for Newport, whose name is associated with all the most honourable and vigorous efforts for putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade—that, if this abominable crime could once be extinguished, the coast of Africa would be the source of such wealth to its inhabitants and to the rest of the world as the imagination of man can hardly compass. The amount of valuable productions which might be drawn from that country, as well as the amount of consumption which might be found there for the productions of other regions, would give a scope to industry and civilization which would reflect the highest credit upon all the nations engaged in so glorious an achievement. However, the main object of the motion before our House—though I do not think that object is clearly developed in the resolution as it stands—seems to be that the Government ought to encourage free immigration into the colonies. I hope, after the statement made by the Under-Secretary for the Colonial Department—who has shewn that the Government are fully alive to the importance of this immigration, that they have greatly encouraged it, that it is continuing and increasing year by year, affording a supply of labour to our colonies—and after the general opinion which has been expressed by those who have taken part in the debate to-night, that the hon. member opposite will not think it necessary to press his resolution to a division. I can assure him it would be unpleasant to the Government to do any thing which might have the effect of inducing the public to believe that they differ from him in his general opinions. We agree with him in those opinions, although we cannot accept his resolution as it stands; and I trust he will be satisfied with the discussion which has taken place, and will not force the House to the disagreeable necessity of voting upon “the previous question.” I have only another word to say. It is right and useful that those who are connected

with our colonial possessions should urge as strongly as they can the expediency of increasing free labour, with the view of augmenting the production of those possessions; but they ought carefully to abstain from any argument which might be misconstrued by other nations into a desire to curtail the production of rival colonies. It may be true that those Coolies who go to Cuba are not so well treated as the Coolies who go to our colonies. It is impossible that free men imported as labourers into a country where Slavery exists can have the same security and the same liberty as they would have in a country where Slavery does not exist. But, at the same time, can you suppose that the proprietors in Cuba will easily consent to allow their fields to remain uncultivated, their produce to diminish, for the want of a supply of labour? That is a thing not to be expected. The choice lies between their being supplied with slaves, taken by the most abominable means from the centre of Africa, or with persons who, though kidnapped and badly treated, are still free to a certain extent. If it is supposed that the object of the British colonists is not simply to increase their own means of production, but to diminish that of other countries, the efforts of England to put down the slave-trade will be misunderstood. It will be supposed that they are dictated by a narrow commercial jealousy, not by principles of humanity and of general benevolence; and, so far from other countries being willing to co-operate with us, they will set themselves against us, and do every thing in their power to thwart and defeat our policy.

Mr. CAVE, in reply, said that in spite of what had fallen from the noble lord (Lord Palmerston) about the suspicions which foreign nations might entertain of the purity of our motives in objecting to the importation of Chinese into Cuba, the truth ought to be told—that it was better that people who were slaves at home should be taken as slaves to Cuba rather than that free people like the Chinese should find themselves in that position. Spain was not fit to be trusted with the custody of these people. She had ever enjoyed a pre-eminence for barbarity in the New World. She began by working one race there to death. When a stronger race was imported, she did her best to work them to death also; and she ought not to be encouraged to import another race, more resembling the first than the second, in order that she might treat them with the same inhumanity in what had been justly called “the centre of abomination.” With regard to his resolutions, he would not press them after opinions which had been expressed by the Government. His chief object had been to ventilate this question. He was satisfied with the general tone of the debate, and still more satisfied by learning the well-merited rejoinder which the Foreign Secretary had made to the President of the United States.

The amendment and the resolutions were then withdrawn.

*Friday, March 22d.*

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

Mr. GREGORY begged to say, before putting the question of which he had given notice, that he did not ask the noble lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to produce any papers that could



cause inconvenience or detriment to the public service. He saw by an American newspaper that all the papers had been laid, or were going to be laid, before the American Senate; and if any portion of the correspondence should see the light, it was better they should not have it in bits and scraps received from America, but that it should be laid before them in the most open manner. He might mention a circumstance not generally known; namely, that at the time the Extradition Treaty was discussed in the Senate of the United States, in 1842, it was clearly recognised in the debate that took place at that time that a case perfectly parallel to the present case of the slave Anderson might, and probably would, arise, in which a person endeavouring to escape from servitude might, in self-defence, take away life. The person who brought the case prominently before the Senate of the United States, and shewed that the case would in all probability arise, was the Senator from that State from which this slave had escaped, namely Mr. Benton, the Senator for Missouri. That shewed that the Americans had accepted the Extradition Treaty with all its engagements. Mr. Benton, in August 1842, drew attention to the cases of fugitive slaves and their masters, and observed, "Killing his master in defence of his liberty is no offence in the eye of the British law or the British people, and no slave would be given up for it." It was very clear, therefore, that they were not endeavouring to strain the provisions of the treaty. The probability that this case might arise was actually recognised at the time the treaty passed, and they were not endeavouring to force upon the American people a construction of the treaty which it was never intended to bear. In conclusion, he begged to ask the noble lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether it was his intention to lay before the House the correspondence that had passed between the English and American Governments on the subject of the fugitive slave Anderson?

Lord John RUSSELL said: With regard to the question of the hon. member as to any correspondence having passed between Her Majesty's and the Government of the United States, on the subject of the slave Anderson, the hon. gentleman seemed to think that there had been some remonstrances on the part of the American Government, or some correspondence, after the case of Anderson had been considered both in Canada and in this House. The only communication which has been made hitherto is the claim of the American Government that a man of colour, who had been guilty of murder, without saying whether he was a slave or not, should be given up if there was no objection. A copy of that communication the hon. member might have, and, added to that, the instructions given to the Governor of Canada, upon whom it depended whether this man should be given up. It was certainly stated, both in this and the other House of Parliament, at the time when the treaty under which Anderson was claimed was discussed, that slaves were not to be given up on account of acts which they might be likely to commit in order to secure their freedom. That was stated here and in the other House of Parliament, and also in the American Senate.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1861.

### NOTICE.

WE beg to inform the Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and likewise to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, that their Subscriptions are now due for the year 1861, and we shall feel obliged by the amount being remitted by Post-Office Order, made payable to L. A. Chamerovzow.

### EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

No event of modern times, the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies not excepted, has equalled in importance the Emancipation of the Serfs, as declared by the Emperor Alexander, in a Manifesto dated from St. Petersburg, March the 3d last, or 19th February Old Style. A relic of the Mongolian-Tartar dominion, under which the institution took rise, it was consolidated by Michael Romanov, the 1st of his dynasty, in 1625, and later by Peter the Great, when serfs and slaves—for the two classes had been, up to that time, distinct—were confounded, and Forty-two Millions of men became virtually slaves. Peter the Great, Catherine the Lascivious, Paul the Mad, each was lavish of gifts of lands and peasants thereto attached, to fortunate generals or to distinguished favourites, and the Crown itself accumulated at least 20,000,000 of serfs, besides 2,000,000 appertaining to the Imperial domain. Twenty millions more belonged to private proprietors, and these form the class which the recent Manifesto will free, the Crown serfs and those belonging to the Imperial domain having been liberated by the late Emperor Nicholas, to whom is justly due the initiative of the measures now completed.

Twenty-two millions of human beings constitute a people, in respect of numbers; and the change which their emancipation will effect in the life of the Russian nation cannot be estimated. It will set in motion the springs of progress. It will inaugurate a new era, not of personal freedom only, but of thought. It will no longer be dangerous to impart knowledge to this enormous mass of human beings, who cannot fail, in course of time, to imbibe from without, ideas of the responsibilities of governors and governed, of which they have hitherto had no conception. Many years, however, must elapse, ere the beneficial results of this humane measure will produce its great fruits, for Slavery of any kind entails degradation and ignorance, and evils which require the period of an entire generation to remove. Nevertheless,



the friends of human freedom everywhere may rejoice that twenty millions more of freemen have, in the wisdom of Providence, been added to the free population of the world. Can it be that the noble example of the most despotic Government on the face of the earth will be lost upon the United States, professedly the most democratic?

#### THE SECESSION.

THE mails from America which will arrive during the forthcoming few weeks, are likely to bring information decisive of the question of Peace or War. The most recent intelligence, namely, that the popular vote in North Carolina has resulted in a majority against a Secession Convention, and in the election of a large majority of Union Delegates, may be accepted as an indication of a change, amounting to an actual staying of the Secession movement. Should Mr. Lincoln carry out a peace policy, the rupture may not only extend no further, but some of the out-gone States may even come back. The general feeling is in favour of a Border State Convention, and what are called the majority resolutions recommend its being held at Frankfort, Kentucky, on the last Monday in May. The recommendation is, so far, in accordance with the policy of Mr. Lincoln, whom we understand to accord to the States a perfect right to break up the Union, provided a constitutional majority, the result of a constitutional vote, taken according to the constitution, should decide in favour of dis-union.

For war, the Federal Government appears to be, at present, quite unprovided, and this is rather fortunate. It had been ascertained that the Federal forces, naval and military, had been so scattered by the late administration, as to render them unavailable for the actual emergency; an act of treasonable forethought on the part of the officials at the head of departments. At least 20,000 men, with the necessary vessels for transport, would be required by the Government, if it decided upon attempting to relieve Major Anderson in Fort Sumter. The impracticability of uniting this force, no doubt influences the Cabinet at Washington in favour of a pacific policy, and the Confederate States' leaders in exactly the opposite direction. This Southern Congress has adopted a flag; and, amongst other measures, has prohibited the foreign slave-trade, and instituted a free-trade tariff, and adopted a resolution in favour of full copyright treaties with the European Powers. "Sops to Cerberus," no doubt, but acceptable to politicians.

In providing for the permanence of Slavery, the Congress of the Confederate States is legislating against nature, and against the inevitable tendencies of the law of progress,

which underlies all human institutions. Slavery cannot endure in those States, because, first, it is wrong, and secondly, because it is self-ruinous. Whether, therefore, the Secession becomes completed by the accession to the movement of the hesitating Border States, or is confined to those which form the new Confederation, the issue cannot be long doubtful, and emancipation will be forced upon them as an economical question. To leave the Confederate States to consummate their own ruin, is evidently the wisest policy.

The element of the increase of population is one which affords a subject of interesting speculation; for if, as is admitted by political economists, the prosperity of a nation depends upon its purchasing power, the larger the purchasing population, the more material its prosperity, and the more stable. In the Slave States this element of prosperity does not exist in any thing like the same proportion as in the Free States; and in illustration of this assertion, we will conclude by a summary of the comparative position in this respect of the two sections.

According to the census returns of 1850, the population of the Free States and Territories was 13,465,523. In 1860, it had reached 19,046,173: increase, 5,580,650. In the Slave States it was, in 1850, 6,522,048; in 1860, 8,602,470: increase, 2,080,422. In other words, the population of the Free States has increased more than 150 per cent. faster than that of the Slave States, in ten years. On the other hand, in the latter, the slave-population is fast gaining ground upon the free. In 1850, it was 3,203,999; in 1860, it had attained 3,999,853; shewing an increase upon the free population at the rate of 30 per cent. in ten years. This great increase is confined to the cotton-growing States. In North and South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the population is almost stationary, growing only at the rate of a very few thousands a year. In Delaware and Maryland there has been a decrease; so large indeed in the latter, that in another ten years, at the same rate, the slaves will be gone altogether, while very few will remain in Delaware. In Missouri the positive increase has been small, but compared with the enormous development of the free element, the relative decrease has been enormous. In all the Border States, therefore, emancipation from natural causes appears to be imminent, and might be made immediate, on the principle of compensation, with an immense general gain; whereas the annual encroachment of the slave-population upon the free element in the Confederate States, will in the quarter of a century render it numerically superior.

Do not these startling facts point to one conclusion? Emancipation!

## FREE LABOUR IN TOBAGO.

WE are indebted to a correspondent for the following interesting statement relating to the result of emancipation in Tobago:

"I beg to offer a few statements of facts connected with the free system, which, no doubt, will be interesting to the friends of liberty, and illustrate the triumphs of emancipation in the British West Indies.

"About ten years ago, a resident proprietor in Tobago unfortunately was involved to the amount of 1500*l.*, without any means of paying, unless he gave up his estate. His creditor was unwilling to take the property, but required so much sugar annually for interest and in liquidation of the debt. The proprietor, having no means to cultivate his land, called the labourers together, and offered them the estate to work it on the Metairie system. To this they agreed, and notwithstanding the disadvantages of insufficient stock to keep the mill in motion, as well as other requirements, this proprietor soon got clear of debt, obtaining not less than twenty-five hogsheads of sugar for his share each season. He is now an independent man. There is always a good understanding between him and his people.

"An estate which had been abandoned a little before freedom, was about six years ago restored by an emancipated negro. At the expiration of his lease, this year, he was re-imbursed for his outlay at a fair valuation; and that property having gone into other hands, this person is now restoring another broken down estate on the old foundation, which he thought it wiser to purchase, so as to hinder another interruption.

"Another estate had partly been ruined by a hurricane in 1847, as well as through the carelessness of the lessees, one of whom was in prison for debt, when in this country two years past. This property had been restored to nearly its original efficiency by an emancipated negro, once a slave of the same place. Having a little capital, he gathered the little available old material, bought two mill arms, and in spite of much opposition from several of the surrounding neighbours, and especially one of the destructive lessees, who still lays claim to the most convenient land, this persevering negro sustains his lease, and now has four points to his mill in the face of his opponents, as a spectacle of his diligence and industry. He pays an annual rent of 90*l.*, and his crop this year was 50 hogsheads of sugar besides molasses.

"Other cases might be given in contradiction of the assertion, that the free negro is idle and unambitious; but besides what I have stated—as well as similar instances that could be adduced if necessary—it is a common thing for a labourer to get two hogsheads of sugar, if not more, in payment of wages, and as his share of the proceeds for the cultivation, consequently the repeated false allegation upon the injured and oppressed race is now, it is to be hoped, at an

end. The marked general improvement in the emancipated class throughout the British colonies, is a cause of great satisfaction and encouragement to every philanthropist. Emancipation has proved and should be regarded as a blessing to the planter, the slave, to society, and the world.

"But any unprejudiced person has only to visit the West Indies to be satisfied of the great practical benefits of emancipation, in the improved circumstances of the people since freedom.

"They have settled family connections, comfortable homes, and such comforts as are only attainable by freedom. There is not that dread of the white man, nor any design to ambush him, or murder him in his bed while asleep, as was the case in Slavery, by the poor negroes, when opportunity offered, to retaliate for wrongs and cruelties. No, society is safe; there are now no runaway slaves attacking passengers on solitary roads. 'The fear of man' is taught to be a 'snare.' The love of God is inculcated now among the emancipated. There is happiness and industry, with an anxious desire to advance in intelligence. Thus the success of the Society in achieving the victories of freedom has secured to England loyalty from the African race in the British colonies, and throughout the world.

"The failure of estates in the West Indies is not attributable to emancipation, except that the planters grieved after Slavery, and would not be initiated into the free system. These, for the most part, were only attorneys of absent proprietors, and they cared not, it seems, for consequences, as when the smash came a great many bought the properties at a nominal price, which would not now be got from them unless at an advance of 200 to 300 per cent.

"In the island where I reside the disclosure of certain facts will likely be traced to my authorship; but I care not for this; although being a thinly-populated place, justice is often scantily measured, and the laws administered invariably by the legislatures themselves. I expect, therefore, to suffer indirectly, and will meet no legal indulgence in any quarter, but rather be a suspected person. There will always be a rod in soak for me. I speak this, knowing what others have suffered; but I go single-handed in a matter which many are diffident about, lest they should offend.

"But with respect to emancipation, which has resulted quite to the expectation of philanthropists; by its achievements those who were under the yoke are now rising in their several spheres, and the *Anti-Slavery Society*, having a claim on that class throughout the British colonies, ought, I have always thought, to make a strong appeal to their liberality, which appeal would, I hope, be very generally responded to.

"Jamaica, Grenada, and Tobago, which suffered most from the planters not understanding the free system, present now the brightest speci-

mens of the blessings of liberty. As regards the former, the information furnished the Society at different times has been so ample and truthful, that you are in full possession of facts connected with the working of the free system in that island.

"Trinidad has suffered but little compared to other places, as from most of the small islands, where there was no employment for them, people emigrated in great numbers, as higher wages also became a great inducement. From Grenada especially they went, and still go, finding it more to their advantage. The fact is, that, after the apprenticeship, the planters still wanted to continue the old system, which they partly did, by substitution of contracts; and the negroes, on finding the dodge, quietly eased themselves away from the estate, to hinder their liberty being jeopardized. It is distressing, and savours still of Slavery, to see an honest and industrious man working in the convict gang with a brand of 'felon' on his back because he absented himself from work for a few days, and refused to pay the fine, which would have been taken from the wages the estate owed him. This makes the man callous. He gives a month's notice, leaves the estate, and afterwards will only work as a metayer, so as to secure his liberty. The most successful planter is the one who avoids dragging his labourers to law.

"At Grenada, to save any collision with planters, the labourers, for the most part, left the estates, and cultivated yams and other provisions, which are exported to Trinidad and other islands in great abundance. Some of them plant canes on the Metairie system; and the captured Africans cultivate a large quantity in this way. Property here has also increased over 200 per cent. Like every thing else, from stubbornness of the plantocracy, emancipation has had a great struggle to shew itself to advantage, owing to the want of a fair trial. My firm opinion is, that the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* will not maintain its position so well till a delegate is sent from England on a tour, to witness the benefits which emancipation has done to all classes within its influence.

"There are sixty-six sugar estates in Tobago, of which thirty are entirely worked on the metairie system, the labourers having volunteered to do so when the owners or managers threatened to abandon them; and this system has been the salvation of that island as well as Grenada. The other thirty-six estates in Tobago are worked partly by the same means, and partly by hired labour. On one estate, which has a cattle-mill, the people restored it from abandonment, by allowing the proprietor to take their share of sugar to pay for the purchase of mules to restock the estate, so anxious were they to re-establish cultivation. Twelve proprietors and lessees are of the emancipated class, besides

others who are metayers, to a great extent, and reap as much as five hogsheads of sugar annually for their share. The assertion in the *Tobago Chronicle* of the 21st of September last, attributing to the negroes the fault of canes being left annually on the ground is untrue, as but few of the estates are supplied with stock. The machinery is quite out of repair, and, consequently, inefficient for the intended purposes.

"A few of the proprietors and lessees of the emancipated class had to struggle with many difficulties in re-establishing their estates, being much thwarted by their neighbouring enemies, who still take advantage and encroach on their land. They declared that the black and coloured men would be ruined in their attempt to raise up abandoned estates; but the men of the soil persevered, and are now specimens of whom the friends of negro freedom, through whose instrumentality they enjoy rights and liberties, may be proud. The enterprise of these men created an impetus with their superiors, and the results of their example have caused a considerable increase in the value of property. An estate that in Tobago during 1852 there was no purchaser for, after the expiration of seven years lease by an emancipated man, fetched in 1859 1000*l.* (say one thousand pounds sterling) and the owner soon after regretted that he took that offer. When it was leased it had a crop of 14 hhds. of sugar, and the cultivation so increased that so much as 50 hhds. or more were reaped several years during the term of lease. As I have already said, it requires the Society to send out a delegate to witness the particular triumphs of emancipation.

The abolition of Slavery has been also very beneficial to the free coloured and black race in the West Indies by the removal of complexional prejudice cherished against them, although free, while their brothers were in bondage; indeed in the west, except in those colonies where there has been a large and constant stream of Asiatic immigration, the bitter root is almost exterminated, and it will wear out itself as the principles of Slavery disappear by the roll of time.

"In most of the colonies I must say, that justice is not even handed, which in a great measure is owing to the nature of the Constitution. Trinidad is composed of a Legislative Council only, consisting of an equal number of officials and private members. British Guiana has its Courts of Policy, composed of officials and members elected by the people of a rare qualification. St. Lucia is under the same form of Government as the first place mentioned, and almost in all cases the official members carry a majority. There is trial by jury in Trinidad, without a grand inquest.

"All the other British islands have their branches of legislature, but mostly of limited qualification for the popular body. In Barbadoes—



the size is twenty-one miles by fifteen; the inhabitants over 150,000—the qualification to vote is annual freehold rental of 20*l.* currency, or 50*l.* occupancy. Tobago is under the franchise enacted in the so-called good old days of Slavery. The qualification to vote must be an annual freehold rental of 30*l.* sterling, or the management of a sugar estate, with a salary of 100*l.* sterling per annum, and an attorney has a vote for each property which he represents. Representation there is a mere farce, as the voice of the people is not known even in so small a population as 14,000, in an island thirty-one miles by eleven. By the despatches from the Secretary of State, the laws seem to be defectively framed; and you may judge of their administration, even although chiefly by the framers. It is the rarest place for general elections, except when there is a row with the Governor and the popular body.]

“On the whole, however, the West Indies, generally speaking, are on the advance. The blow to Slavery now and then causes an explosion of feeling from the opposite party, but by the peaceful, industrious, and orderly character of the emancipated, the predicted ruin of the islands is groundless, and there is every appearance of successful and permanent prosperity. This would be greatly accelerated by entirely free African immigration on terms of reciprocity.”

#### JUDGMENT IN THE CASE OF JOHN ANDERSON.

(Resumed from our last.)

THE testimony of W. C. Baker establishes that the prisoner was regarded as the property of one M'Donald, and that one Samuel Brown, residing in the vicinity of this farmer's residence, had his wife as a slave. These statements would seem to identify the prisoner as the person who was pursued by and ultimately stabbed and caused the death of Digges; but any other negro endeavouring to make his escape, and determined to effect it, knowing the position of the prisoner, might make the same statement with a view to mislead as to his identity in the event of pursuit; so that too much confidence ought not to be placed in the alleged conversation of Digges with his son, as establishing conclusively the identity of the prisoner as the person who stabbed Digges. But that point would be established beyond question, if an affidavit taken in Missouri, by a slave of Mrs. Digges, of the name of Phil, could legally be received in evidence. After stating various circumstances connected with the attempt to capture the prisoner, he states that the negro who killed his master was named Jack; that he once belonged to Moses Burton of Howard county, and had a wife at Samuel Brown's: and that he had seen him and known him before the day he killed his master. I do not feel at liberty to reject that deposition if otherwise legally receivable in evidence, because the individual who made it is a slave, and in the State in which it was taken is regarded as a mere chattel and incapable of giving evi-

dence generally; but it is not legal evidence in this Province. Apart from any consideration of the kind, I cannot in this examination of the proceedings of the justice of the peace, consent to consider it as legal because it seems to have been received without objection there. The second section of chap. 89, Consolidated Statutes, enacts that in every case of *complaint as aforesaid*, and of a hearing upon the return of the warrant of arrest, copies of the depositions upon which an original warrant in any of the said United States may have been granted, certified under the hand of the person or persons issuing such warrant, or under the hand of the officer or person having the legal custody thereof, and attested upon the oath of the party producing them to be true copies of the original depositions, may be received in evidence of the criminality of the person so apprehended. The affidavit or deposition in question does not come within that section. It does not profess to be a copy of any original deposition used for the purpose of obtaining a warrant. Indeed it does not appear that any attempt was even made in Missouri to procure a warrant; but why should there be such an attempt when every white man is at liberty to arrest any coloured man whom he suspects to be a runaway slave? That deposition, then, taken in Missouri, and unsupported even by any testimony that it was even sworn to, was improperly admitted before the justice of the peace, and though received by consent of counsel, I think must be rejected, as the case of the prisoner, as it now stands before us, can only be decided on the consideration of such evidence as is strictly legal. Looking, then, at all the testimony taken before the justice of the peace, and rejecting such portion as is only necessary and inadmissible, there is not a witness who connects the prisoner with the stabbing of Digges, unless it be Thomas L. Digges, in his statement of the death-bed declarations of his father to him, and these only shew that the negro by whom Digges was stabbed made certain declarations as to himself and his identity, which would be true if made by the prisoner; but rejecting the deposition of the slave Phil, there is no testimony which establishes satisfactorily that the prisoner is the person who caused the death of Digges. On the grounds, therefore, that the prisoner was arrested in the first instance on an insufficient complaint, and that he is now detained in custody on a warrant of commitment until discharged by due course of law for an offence committed in a foreign country; and on the further grounds, that the offence stated in the warrant of commitment is not one for which the prisoner is liable to be detained under the Provincial Act for carrying out the treaty with the United States for the surrender of certain fugitive criminals, and that the evidence, as given before the justice of the peace, is of too vague a character to establish the offence of murder against the prisoner according to the laws of this Province, I am of opinion that the prisoner is now entitled to be discharged from custody.

“In coming to this conclusion, I have been guided solely by a consideration of what has been returned to us as the evidence taken before

the justice of the peace, and have not adverted to the important question whether, if the testimony were clear that the prisoner, a slave in the State of Missouri, in making his escape from bondage in that State killed a person, who, with a number of slaves, and by his orders, endeavoured to seize him in order to return him to Slavery, he can be considered guilty of murder.

"In considering that question, it is not what would be sufficient according to the laws of Missouri to sustain the charge of murder, but whether the evidence adduced before the justice of the peace in this case is sufficient to sustain such charge according to the laws of this Province, if the offence alleged, of murder, had been committed therein; or, in other words, if Digges had been killed in this Province, would the evidence adduced before the magistrate be sufficient, according to the laws of this Province, to sustain the charge of murder against the prisoner Anderson.

"It is impossible that a similar case can occur in this Province, because, happily, it is our proud boast that we are all free, and that in respect of civil rights all are not merely nominally but in reality placed by the law of the land on an equality. It is difficult even to imagine a parallel case, for the law is so tender, and guards so carefully against the infringement of personal liberty, that an action is given for the slightest violation of it, and any person is at liberty to defend himself at any hazard against any attempt to reduce him to a state of bondage. The difficulty of imagining a parallel case suggests the idea that it will be better to take the case of the prisoner as it has been attempted to be established by evidence, and apply to such evidence the rules of law by which we must be bound if such a case occurred in this Province.

"The facts, then, to which the evidence applies are that Digges was a farmer residing on land of his own, in Howard County, in the State of Missouri; that the prisoner was a slave, bound, himself and his children, to perpetual servitude to any person to whom they might be transferred, and in 1853 a slave of one M'Donald, living in Saline County, in the State of Missouri; that he had been transferred to M'Donald by his former master, one Moses Burton, and compelled to remove from the immediate vicinity of his wife and child to a distance of thirty or thirty-two miles, where his new master resided; that he left M'Donald's, and was seen at Samuel Brown's, where his wife was a slave, in September, 1853, and that he was chased there by several persons for the purpose of returning him again to M'Donald as a slave, but succeeded at that time in making his escape from them; that soon after, while engaged in trying to make his escape from the man who claimed him as his property, he was passing over Digges' farm, when he was accosted by Digges, and asked whether he had a pass, and was told that without a pass he would not be allowed to proceed; that the prisoner attempted to escape by running away, and was pursued by Digges and four slaves under his orders; that Digges encouraged his slaves in the pursuit by offering to them the premium of five dollars, to which under the law

of the State he would be entitled for the arrest of a slave attempting to become free by escaping from his master; and that after pursuing the prisoner upwards of a mile from his own house, Digges, with a stick in his hand, in order to intercept the prisoner, crossed a fence and approached him, and that, on their meeting, Digges struck at the prisoner with his stick, as it is alleged, in self-defence, and the prisoner, with a knife which he had in his hand, inflicted a wound or wounds which caused the death of Digges.

"The law of England, or rather of the British Empire, not only does not recognise Slavery within the dominions of the Crown, but imposes upon any British subject who shall have become the owner of slaves in a foreign state, the severest penalties, and declares that all persons engaged in carrying on the slave-trade, when captured at sea, shall be liable to be treated as pirates. In all the British possessions the institution of Slavery, which at one time prevailed to a certain extent, was abolished at the enormous expense of twenty millions of pounds sterling in remunerating the holders of slaves. An immense amount has since been expended in efforts to suppress the African slave-trade, and by every possible means the British Government has put down and discountenanced the traffic in human beings. Even when Slavery was tolerated in some of the British possessions, no person could be brought into England without becoming free the moment he touched the soil; and though other nations have not chosen to follow the noble example of the British nation, and some are even yet embarking in nefarious and unchristian attempts to import human beings from the coast of Africa to be held in perpetual bondage, for the purpose of this world's gain, even at the risk of being regarded as pirates—happily the traffic has become too uncertain and too hazardous to be carried on to so great an extent as formerly prevailed. In the adjoining Republic the evils and the curse of Slavery are every day becoming more manifest, and even now threaten to lead to a dissolution of the federal compact of the United States, under which the several States have enjoyed an unexampled degree of prosperity. The evil is not less revolting in a social point of view, for though the laws of some of the States of the Union may tolerate the dealing in human beings as if they were sheep or oxen, the best feelings of our nature must shudder at the thought of the severance of those endearing relations which usually form the solace and happiness of mankind. A father and mother, husband and wife, are liable, at the caprice of a master, or perhaps from his necessities, to be separated from each other and from their children, and they are bound to submit, or if they attempt to escape from bondage, and to consult their own happiness in preference to the gain of their masters, are liable to be hunted by any white or black man who chooses to engage in the pursuit, and when captured are liable to severe punishment and increased severity from their taskmasters. The prisoner, Anderson, as appears by the statement of Baker, who came to this Province to identify him, has felt the horrors of such treatment. He was brought up to manhood by one



Moses Burton, and married a slave on a neighbouring property, by whom he had one child. His master, for his own purposes, disregarding the relation which had been formed, sold and transferred him to a person at a distance, to whose will he was forced to submit. The laws of Missouri, enacted by their white oppressors, while they perpetuate Slavery, confer no rights on the slaves, unless it be the bare protection of their lives. Can it, then, be a matter of surprise that the prisoner should endeavour to escape from so degrading a position; or, rather, would it not be a cause of surprise if the attempt were not made? Digges, though he could have had no other interest in it but that which binds slaveholders for their common interest to prevent the escape of their slaves, interfered to prevent the prisoner getting beyond the bounds of his bondage; and with his slaves pursued and hunted him, with a spirit and determination which might well drive him to desperation; and when at length the prisoner appeared within reach of capture, he, with a stick in his hand, crossed over a fence, and advanced to intercept and seize him. The prisoner was anxious to escape, and in order to do so made every effort to avoid his pursuers. Digges, as their leader, on the contrary, was most anxious to overtake and come in contact with the prisoner for the unholy purpose of riveting his chains more securely. Could it be expected from any man indulging the desire to be free, which nature has implanted in his breast, that he should quietly submit to be returned to bondage and to stripes, if by any effort of his strength, or any means within his reach, he could emancipate himself? Such an expectation, it appears to me, would be most unreasonable, and I must say that, in my judgment, the prisoner was justified in using any necessary degree of force to prevent what to him must inevitably have proved a most fearful evil. He was committing no crime in endeavouring to escape and to better his own condition; and the fact of his being a slave cannot, in my humble judgment, make that a crime which would not be so if he were a white man. If in this country any number of persons were to pursue a coloured man with an avowed determination to return him into Slavery, it cannot, I think, be doubted that the man pursued would be justified in using in the same circumstances as the prisoner—the same means of relieving himself from so dreadful a result. Can, then, or must the law of Slavery in Missouri be recognised by us to such an extent as to make it murder in Missouri, while it is justifiable in this Province to do precisely the same act? I confess that I feel it too repugnant to every sense of religion and every feeling of justice, to recognise a rule, designated as a law, passed by the strong for enslaving and tyrannizing over the weak—a law which would not be tolerated a moment, if those who are reduced to the condition of slaves and deprived of all human rights were possessed of white instead of black or dark complexions.

“The Declaration of Independence of the present United States proclaimed to the world that all men are born equal and possessed of certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but the first of

these is the only one accorded to the unfortunate slaves; the others of these inalienable rights are denied, because the white population have found themselves strong enough to deprive the blacks of them. A love of liberty is inherent in the human breast, whatever may be the complexion of the skin. ‘Its taste is grateful, and ever will be so, till nature herself shall change;’ and, in administering the laws of a British Province, I never can feel bound to recognise as law any enactment which can convert into chattels a very large number of the human race. I think that on every ground the prisoner is entitled to be discharged.”

“In considering and disposing of the question raised in this case we must keep in mind that the subject is brought before us on the application of the prisoner, and not on behalf of or by the Crown in any way, and the simple question at present is whether the prisoner is now in legal custody. It might be a question upon the construction of the Extradition Act, cap 89 of the Consolidated Acts of Canada, whether the prisoner could intervene between the committing magistrate and the Governor General, by a writ of *habeas corpus*, to take the opinion of a Court of Law upon the sufficiency of the evidence of criminality. That question has not been raised, and if it had been I should be disposed, in favour of liberty, to consider that a prisoner might obtain the opinion of a Court upon the sufficiency of the evidence to charge a person with any of the offences mentioned in the treaty; that is, to examine the evidence with a view of determining the sufficiency of it, to call the matter to the attention of the Executive Government under the treaty. The opinion of the committing magistrate is not binding upon the Governor-General, for the magistrate must return, with his certificate of his opinion, a copy of all the testimony taken before him to the Governor-General, in order that final action may be taken by the Government. No power is given by the Act to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus* except in cases under the 4th section, where the prisoner has remained in custody more than two months without a requisition having been made. Though no such power has been expressly given by the Act, yet I suppose the bare right to have the writ will not be denied, and that the cause of detention should be returned with it would seem naturally to flow from that right. That being so, then we see, upon the return of the writ, that the cause of detention is, that the prisoner is charged with having committed murder in a foreign country, and the offence is one of the crimes enumerated in the treaty by which the two Governments stipulated with each other mutually to surrender criminals. The warrant of commitment is not perhaps strictly technical in terms, but that affords no ground for discharge of the prisoner, for we have before us the evidence of criminality upon which the magistrate acted, and, therefore, we must look at that with the warrant. The whole argument in the prisoner's favour must rest upon the proposition, that he was a slave, and killed the person he is said to have done in freeing himself from Slavery, and that Slavery not being recognised or tolerated in this country, the prisoner therefore is not guilty of murder,

whatever other offence it might amount to. That argument is a fallacy; for the two Governments, in making the treaty, were dealing with each other upon the footing that each had, at that time, recognised laws applicable to the offences enumerated. It is true, that the moment a slave puts his foot on Canadian soil he is free, but the British Government never contemplated that he should also be free from the charge of murder, piracy, or arson, though the crime was committed in the endeavour to obtain freedom. The agreement to surrender to each other criminals of certain classes, was, of course, based upon the fact of the persons being criminals by the laws of the country from which they came, provided the evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive so charged should be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offence had been there committed. Whether the prisoner were a slave or not, is not the question we have to deal with. We find that Slavery is recognised by the laws of the State of Missouri. All that we are called upon to say is, whether the prisoner might be legally put upon his trial for murder, provided the homicide had occurred in Canada, under the same circumstances as is alleged in the depositions. I do not wish to be understood as meaning to say any thing prejudicial to the prisoner, either upon trial for the offence, or upon the manner in which the case may be dealt with upon demand for surrender, when it comes so to be. I have formed no opinion, either one way or the other, upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. We have, as judges, only to say, whether the evidence of criminality be sufficient, according to our laws, to put the accused upon trial for the offence of murder. According to the evidence Digges had a lawful right, in the State of Missouri, to arrest the prisoner, and the prisoner knew it, but he resisted, and, in the course of that resistance, Digges lost his life. We do not discover that Digges using violence, or more force than was necessary to accomplish what was, in that State, a lawful act; and, on the other hand, we find the prisoner not merely resisting the law, but armed with a deadly weapon to aid him in that resistance. Now take the case of a person authorized by any of our laws to deprive another of his liberty, and homicide committed under the same circumstances as mentioned in the depositions before us, no one can doubt for a moment the evidence would be sufficient for a grand jury putting the accused upon trial for murder. Whether, in the course of the trial, there might not be circumstances made to appear warranting and justifying the belief that there was no intention to take life, and, consequently, that homicide was only manslaughter, is another question, and is one that judges, under the circumstance of the present case, are not called upon to give any opinion on. The law of the foreign country is plain enough, with regard to a certain class of its inhabitants, but, because our laws are different with regard to the liberty of that class, it cannot, in reason and common sense, be a sound proposition to advance, that such difference in the law warrants us in ignoring altogether the law of the foreign country, and would justify us in saying

that a slave cannot commit murder in attempting to escape. The framers of the treaty never could have supposed that such a proposition was the law by which the treaty itself was to be interpreted; for if it be so, then the treaty, instead of being mutual, would be all upon one side, so far as criminals who would have been slaves, are concerned. However much I may deplore the necessity of being called on to give any opinion, and however much I may detest and abominate the doctrine that any portion of the human race has a right to deprive another portion of its liberty, and reduce that class to a state of Slavery, yet, when called on to explain and interpret an agreement between our own nation and another, and what is the legal effect of it, a duty attaches so sacred, that private feelings ought in no manner to be allowed to warp the mind or pervert the judgment. We must see what each party to the treaty supposed and believed they were negotiating about at the time it was done, and it would be neither fair nor honest to interpret the treaty by the laws of one of the countries, without reference to the laws of the other, as they stood at the time the treaty was entered into; and we cannot imagine that either party, in passing laws to enable the treaty to be carried out, supposed that the law of one side was to govern, without reference to the law of the other side. I entertain no manner of doubt that it is proper for the court to refuse to discharge the prisoner, thus leaving him to be dealt with in such manner as His Excellency the Governor-General may be advised; and in so doing it must be understood that the judgment of the court was invoked by the prisoner, not by the Government, which may find sufficient reasons, for aught the court has any thing to do with, for not complying with a requisition from the States.

#### THE NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

It may interest our readers to learn something of the life and history of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President of the United States. We copy the subjoined, therefore, from a letter from New York, recently published in a contemporary journal.

"Abraham Lincoln was born in the county of Hardem, in Kentucky, the 16th Feb. 1809, His grandfather, who emigrated from Virginia into that State in 1781, was killed by the Indians whilst he was engaged in clearing his lands. His son, who, like himself, was very poor, also died prematurely, and left a widow and some children, one of them being Abraham, then aged six years. The widow, with her children, after a while, took up her residence in the south of Indiana; and there Abraham, in course of time, reached man's estate. In stature he is almost gigantic, being six feet three inches. His mother was able to give him but little education; in fact, he passed only six or eight months at school. He was in succession a farm labourer, a wood-cutter, and a boatman on the Wabash and



Mississippi. In 1830 he went to the state of Illinois, and earned his living for a year by working as a labourer in the fields; and then he got a place as a shopman, and afterwards enlisted as a volunteer in a company which was raised at New Salem to take part in the war in Florida against the Indian tribes, headed by the chief called the Black Hawk. He served with credit, and was promoted to the grade of captain. On his return to Illinois he took up his residence near Springfield, the capital, and has ever since resided there. In 1852 he was a candidate for a seat in the legislature of the State, but failed. The year after, however, he was elected, and sat during four sessions. During this time he studied law, and having become an advocate, practised with great success at the bar of Springfield. In politics, to which, whilst following his profession, he paid great attention, he joined the Whig party, and was a warm supporter of Henry Clay. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, and continued to belong to it till 1849. He was a strong Abolitionist, and repeatedly expressed his sentiments on the subject of Slavery. In the stormy debates which took place on the Wilmot proviso he bore an active part, and voted not fewer than forty-two times for that measure. He opposed the war with Mexico as unconstitutional. From 1849 to 1854 he kept aloof from the political arena, devoting himself exclusively to the exercise of his profession. In 1854 he was the candidate of the Whigs for the dignity of senator for his state, but was defeated. In 1856 his name was at the head of the list of the electors of Illinois who voted for Fremont, in opposition to Buchanan. In 1858 he was unanimously designated by the Republican Convention of the State to succeed Mr. Douglas as senator, and a warm contest took place between him and that gentleman. Both visited every part of the State to harangue the population; Mr. Lincoln boldly declaring for the abolition of Slavery, and Mr. Douglas standing by what is called squatter sovereignty. Fortune was then adverse to Mr. Lincoln, his opponent having been elected."

#### SECESSION AS A RIGHT.

WE extract the following pithy article from a recent number of the *New-York Tribune*:

"That the American Republic is now passing through a most important and interesting ordeal—we like that word better than crisis—is very generally felt. The Union may be broken up by it; but, if not, it will be rendered far stronger and more enduring than it was before. Let us, then, look at some of the practical consequences of the Southern assumption that any State may secede from the Union whenever she shall see fit—for it is impossible to limit this right when you have once admitted that each State is her own judge as to the sufficiency of the causes which she may assign for secession.

"We bought of France the vast territory then known as Louisiana for fifteen millions of dollars; we bought Florida of Spain for five millions; we gave ten millions to Texas for a quitclaim of her pretensions to New Mexico; we gave Mexico some fifteen millions for Utah and California; and we have since given her some millions for a part of Arizona. We did not intend in any instance to dispense our hard-won coin for nothing; but, supposing secession to be a constitutional right, what did we secure? Merely the right to protect and watch over the infancy of these embryo States; to pay their taxes for a series of years; to nurture them into maturity and vigour at a heavy cost of our blood and treasure; and then—they could take themselves off at their leisure. Even Florida, which was a very hard bargain at the price, is now blustering in execration of the Union, and declaring her inalienable right to go out whenever she pleases. If she will only pay back the money she has cost the Union, and take herself off quietly, we will warrant Uncle Sam never to offer them one cent reward for her return. We have no desire to see a single star erased from our Federal flag; but if any insists on going out, we decidedly object to the use of force to keep it in.

"Messrs. Buchanan, Slidell, Douglas, Soule, and other democratic magnates, have for years been sedulously fanning the flames of democratic lust of territorial aggrandizement with regard to the island of Cuba. One hundred and twenty millions of dollars have been officially named as the sum which we could well afford to give for the "ever-faithful" island; still larger sums have been mentioned unofficially. That we must acquire Cuba, soon and at whatever cost or hazard, is in effect a corner-stone of both the freshest democratic national platforms. Yet it must be admitted that the Cubans are so diverse from us in origin, religion, industry, &c., that we could hardly hope to assimilate them to ourselves in less than twenty years, if so soon; in fact, the Creoles of Louisiana, who came to us nearly sixty years ago, are yet to this day a race by themselves. That the Cubans, speaking a strange language, separated from us by the Gulf of Mexico, and united by sympathies, traditions, and family relationships to Spain, should sometimes regret the change of dominion, is inevitable. Is Cuba, then, to be at liberty to desert us whenever she will? If so, what becomes—or rather, what comes—of our millions of dollars? And how shall our people be egged on to new conquests or purchases where possession and enjoyment are so confessedly precarious.

"Before we embark in any more wars of conquest or negotiations for purchase, we insist that this point be fully settled among ourselves. If we are to have no rights in the annexed regions—if they are to come to us only that they may fly off again at their leisure—let us see who will vote millions for the next slice of territory prepared for mastication, no matter from what quarter. Let us have the right of secession fully established, and we may fairly hope to bid good-bye to the spirit of now rampant Fillibusterism."

## BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

### BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROS' FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE February Meeting of the *Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* for Birmingham, Leicester, Birmingham, Worcester, &c., was held on the 15th ult., and was very numerously attended. The first subject occupying the attention of the meeting was the case of Anderson, the fugitive slave, and the steps taken by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to avert the decision of the Canadian Judges, by which he might have been delivered to the Missouri slave-hunters. The brief particulars are these: In 1853, an attempt was made to detain Anderson by a slaveholder, named Digges, in doing which he received from Anderson a wound which proved mortal in a few days. Anderson then succeeded in making his escape to Canada, where he appears for the following seven years to have led an industrious life. Great interest has been manifested in the case in Canada, and large public meetings held at Toronto and elsewhere. Mr. Scoble, now resident in Canada, and who was the able and active Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* at the time of the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty, explained to the meeting that both Lord Ashburton and Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary, had most emphatically expressed that the provisions of the treaty were in no case to apply to the rendition of fugitive slaves. When it is considered that if the adverse decision should be confirmed against Anderson, he might be delivered up to torture and death horrible to contemplate, and that the safety of 40,000 refugees now in Canada will be compromised by such decision, it will be seen that the case is one of vast importance. The Hon. Gerrit Smith, one of the most distinguished philanthropists in the United States, has been to see Anderson, and attend the meetings held in his behalf. Referring to abolitionists, he remarked: "If they are to be mobbed again as they were twenty years ago, and their meetings broken up, they too must look to Canada; but will they find liberty and an asylum there, if the glorious British law is to be thrust aside for slave law, and this by British hands?" Letters were read from gentlemen in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, on the present crisis in the United States. Nothing is now so much to be feared as unworthy concessions on the part of the North. Slavery could never have gained the ascendancy it has done in the Republic, but for the repeated surrenders of the principle of freedom by Northern men, actuated, we fear, "by the gilded bait of Southern commerce."

A vast mistake this. Helper's book, "The Impending Crisis of the South," and Olmsted's new work, "The Back Slave States," demonstrate, by the most striking facts and the most incontrovertible evidence, that Slavery and true commercial and social prosperity cannot exist together. Olmsted says there are not more than six places in the South worthy to be called by the name of cities, compared with the wondrous rising up of towns and cities in the North. Does not this single circumstance speak volumes? A communication from the Secretary of the London Society was read, relating to the Cuban Slave Trade, which continues unchecked in its terrible course, for the Commissioners of Havana report only 447 re-captured by the Cuban authorities from the number of 30,000. It is plain that the Governor-General must connive at the system; and when any Governor has set himself to oppose it, he has been recalled by the Spanish Government. It is a most lamentable reflection that a professedly Christian Government can suffer the perpetuation of such iniquity. Time did not allow of bringing forward the interesting narrative of Mr. George Rae, a member of Dr. Livingstone's exploring party. He had furnished an account of what he has personally witnessed of the Eastern slave-trade, from which we take the following extract: "I have myself seen bands of 400 or 500 at a time, newly captured, as we could see by their necks all chafed and bleeding, their eyes streaming with tears, principally young men of from ten to eighteen years of age, driven along in a most inhuman manner." This Association hailed with pleasure the formation of the *African-Aid Society*, and made a grant to its funds from their last year's income. They trust that the Birmingham Society will meet with abundant support, and hope that Auxiliaries will be formed throughout the country where no anti-slavery agency exists. Minutes relating to changes in the officers of the Society were read, and the draft of a new circular setting forth its objects.

### DUNDEE LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

The Ninth Annual Report of the *Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association* has been forwarded to us for notice. Its receipts for the year ending Dec. 1860 were 71*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, including a balance at the Bank from the previous year of 21*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* Its expenditure was within a couple of pounds of the same amount, and includes 15*l.* donation to the Rev. Dr. Cheever 20*l.* to Mr. F. Douglass, and 10*l.* to the Rev. Dr. King for the Buxton Mission.



## ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

**A SELF-TAUGHT NEGRO ENGINE MAKER.**—It always affords us pleasure to notice any work in which science, skill, or ingenuity is exhibited, and our attention has been drawn to one which merits the greatest praise. A black creole, named William Romen, employed as engineer on plantation Clonbrook, has constructed for Mr. Fortune Scipio, of plantation Ann's Grove, a small four horse-power engine, for preparing arrowroot. He purchased the iron and other materials in town, and in spite of the ridicule of some, and the forebodings of others, who anticipated nothing else than a failure, he kept steadily at work, evidently confident of his own skill, and success was the result. The engine can grate at least fifty barrels of the root, and make seven barrels of starch per day at a very trifling expense. At a trial a few days ago, about two barrels of starch were made at a cost of twenty cents for fuel, and as a man and a boy can carry on the work, it is evident that the cost for labour and fuel must be trifling. There are pipes leading from above into the trough in which the grated root falls, by which means the grating and washing go on together, and some of the starch made on the occasion referred to is as good as can be desired. Here we have an individual in humble life, with no further information relative to machinery than he has acquired in the humble capacity of attending to an estate's engine. The work he has completed may want the finish of the English manufacturer, but it proves at all events that he possesses great native talent, energy, skill, and industry, and it reflects the highest credit upon him, that, with circumscribed means, and limited sources of knowledge, he had been able to do what he has done. Had he been properly educated and trained to the business, he would probably have stood high in the profession.

"One object which the owner of the engine had in view, in having it constructed, was to encourage the labourers in the neighbourhood to cultivate the arrowroot to a considerable extent, and there can be no doubt but that it would be to their benefit to carry out the plan. The labour required in the cultivation of the plant is but trifling, and, so far as calculation goes, it would be a saving to the people to have the produce of their fields converted into starch at a trifling cost. Instead of the fatiguing, tedious, and expensive mode of manufacture by the hand, the starch can be prepared at less expense, by the machinery, while the labourers meanwhile can gain money by pursuing their usual avocations. It is to be hoped that no narrow spirit of envy or suspicion will prevent them from benefiting themselves, as well as the enterprising owner of the engine, by co-operating with him so far as they possibly can. They have the land, they can till it at their leisure, and in process of time

they are certain of finding their labours amply rewarded. We understand that the engine can be also made to grind corn: there here is another source of industry open.

Well as the engine may work, and profitable as the result may be to those embarked in the speculation, it is but symptomatic of what can be done. If the experiment be conducted on a sufficient scale, we have no doubt of its ultimate success, and it may be but the forerunner of more important undertakings hereafter. Who can say that, ere many years elapse, we may find large quantities of arrowroot included in exports of the colony? We see no reason why this should not be so, nor why the Indian corn and many other plants should not be classed among the staples of the colony. In the meantime we wish all success to Mr. Fortune Scipio, and hope that his exertions in a good field will meet their reward.—*Demerara Royal Gazette.*

**FEEDING THE NEGRO WHITE.**—The influence of diet upon race is a subject which has considerable speculative interest, and this interest has been increased by recent inquiries into the causes of the variation of species. M. de Quatrefages has commenced a course of lectures at the Museum of Natural History at Paris, on the Unity of the Human Species and the Human Races in General, in which the question of variations amongst vegetable and animal feeders will, it is said, be especially considered. Meanwhile the *Cosmos* recites a letter from M. Abbadie to M. Quatrefages, in which he signalizes an anthropological fact, of which we leave with him the responsibility of announcement. He remarks on the influence of an exclusively animal diet on the colour of the Negro. In the south of Nubia, he observes, the inhabitants who feed upon animal food have by far clearer complexions than those who feed upon vegetable diet. In the Kabyle, the negroes, who are all butchers, live on the *débris* of the animals which they expose for sale in the market. Their life is passed amidst blood, fresh meat, and the exhalations of butchers' meat. They have a clear, fresh tint, although preserving the crisp, woolly hair. This is considered the more significant, because they always intermarry one with the other.

Under a well-devised animal diet it might be possible, according to this observer, to whiten the blackamoor by feeding, though not by washing; and the Ethiopian might change his skin at the dictate of the stomach. Ethnology has a lesson to take in the kitchen. Such opinions are not altogether novel: if we mistake not, they originated with an American philosopher. They call to mind the speculations of the *savant* who concludes that the difference in character between Scot and Southron—"twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee"—could be traced to the quantity of magnesia in oats.—(*Lancet.*)